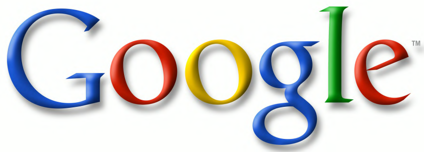
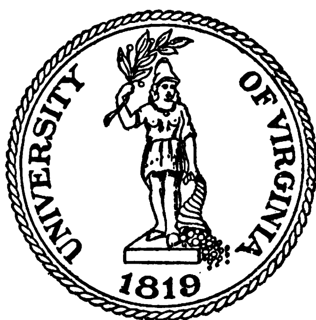
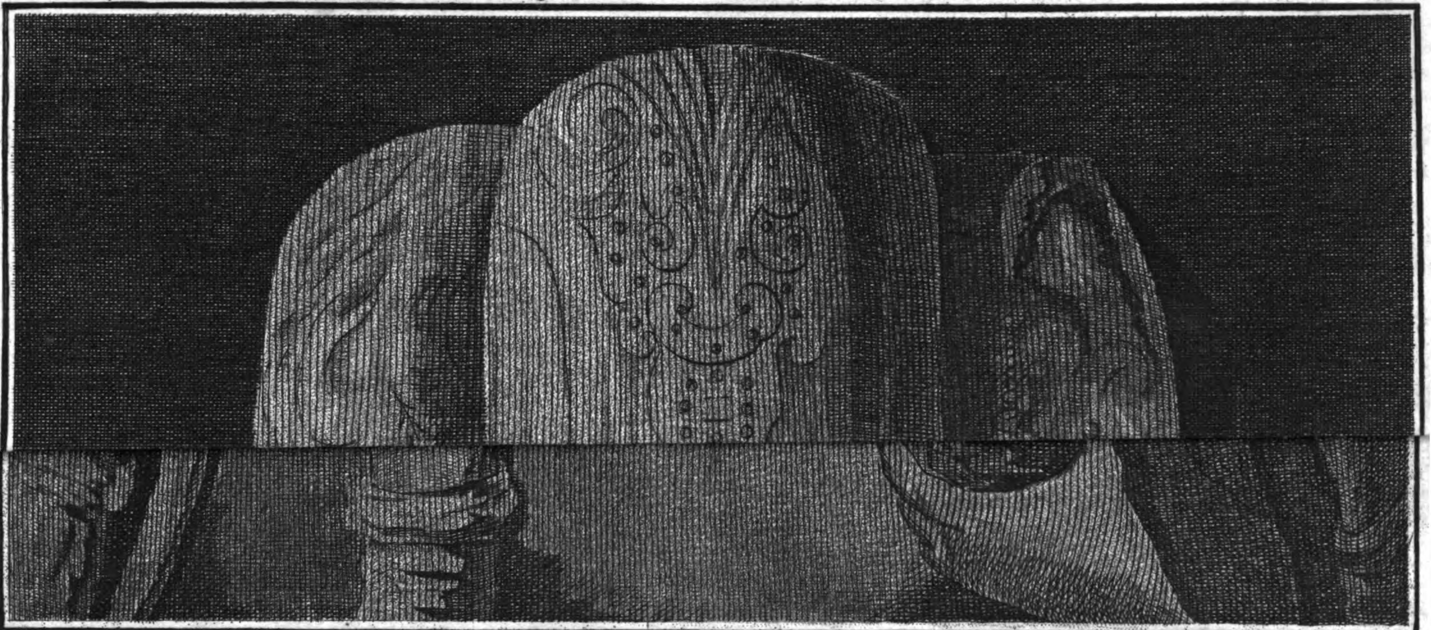





UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
1819

ANTIQUE SCULPTURE.



copied from the Stupendous CAVERN-PAGODA *of* ELEPHANTA, *and supposed by* NIEBUHR *to represent the aspects of the grand triple divinity,* BRAHMA, VEESHNU, & SEEVA

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES:

OR,

DISSERTATIONS,

RELATIVE TO

THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS,
THE PURE SYSTEM OF PRIMEVAL THEOLOGY,
THE GRAND CODE OF CIVIL LAWS,
THE ORIGINAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT,
THE WIDELY-EXTENDED COMMERCE, AND
THE VARIOUS AND PROFOUND LITERATURE,

OF HINDOSTAN:

COMPARED, THROUGHOUT, WITH THE
RELIGION, LAWS, GOVERNMENT, and LITERATURE,

OF

PERSIA, EGYPT, AND GREECE;

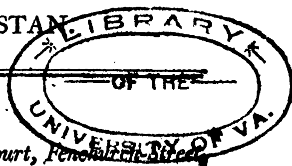
THE WHOLE INTENDED
AS INTRODUCTORY TO

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN,

UPON A COMPREHENSIVE SCALE.

VOL. I.

Containing the DISSERTATION on the ANCIENT GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS of HINDOSTAN.



LONDON:

Printed, for the Author, by H. L. Galabin, Ingram-Court, Fenchurch-Street,

AND SOLD BY

JOHN WHITE, FLEET-STREET.

MDCCC.

TO THE

UNIVERSITY of OXFORD,

THE TWO FIRST VOLUMES OF

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES,

IN WHICH

A NEW PATH

IN LITERATURE

IS ATTEMPTED TO BE EXPLORED,

ARE, WITH PROFOUND RESPECT,

AND WITH BECOMING DIFFIDENCE,

INSCRIBED BY

THOMAS MAURICE.

PREFACE.

IN the year 1785, a ſingular phænomenon made its appearance, in the world of literature, under the title of BHAGVAT-GEETA, or Dialogues of Creeſhna and Arjoon. This production was aſſerted to be a tranſlation by Mr. Wilkins from a Sanſcreet poem, denominated the MAHABBARAT, or Great War, of which poem it forms an epiſode, and the public were informed that it is believed in India to be of the venerable antiquity of four thouſand years, and that it contained all the grand myſteries of the Hindoo Religion.

The GEETA was uſhered into the world with all the importance which ſo invaluable a monument of Indian ſcience ſeemed to merit: it was prefaced by a recommendatory-letter from the Governor-General of Bengal to the Directors, and publiſhed at the expenſe of the Company. The profound theological and

and metaphyfical doctrines which were inculcated in it, with the date to which it laid claim, rouzed the attention and excited the curiofity of the public, whofe eyes about that period began, in a more particular manner, to be directed towards the hiftory and literature of India. It fell into my hands at a period, when, from being engaged in writing upon a fubject connected with an interefting period of Perfian hiftory, I had recently perufed with attention the very learned work of Dr. Hyde, "De Hiftoria Religionis Veterum Perfarum," and, as I thought I traced a furprifing fimilitude in the theological fyftems of ZOROASTER and BRAHMA, particularly in the mutual veneration of the SUN and FIRE, I was gradually led on to that more accurate inveftigation and comparifon of their principles, of which the Differtation on the Religion of Hindoftan is the refult.

From confidering the Religion, I paffed, by an eafy and natural tranfition, to an attentive confideration of the Hiftory, the Philofophy, and Literature, of this wonderful and remote race of men. The light, which fo ftrongly radiates from the page of claffical antiquity upon moft other abftrufe points of literary refearch,

ſearch, caſt but a glimmering ray on this obſcure ſubject; and indeed its aſſertions were, in many inſtances, diametrically oppoſite to what, from the information of modern travellers of high repute, is known to be the fact. Whatever genuine information could poſſibly be obtained relative to India, its early hiſtory and literature ſeemed only to be acquired through the medium of faithful verſions from the Sanſcreet, the ancient original language of the country, and the grand repoſitory of all its hiſtory and ſciences; but, unfortunately, at that period, there were only three gentlemen who were ſuppoſed to be thoroughly acquainted with it, viz. Sir William Jones, Mr. Halhed, and Mr. Wilkins.

Mr. Halhed had already preſented to the public that aſtoniſhing proof of the early wiſdom of the Indians, and their extenſive ſkill in juriſprudence, "the Code of Gentoo Laws," compiled at Benares, by a number of Brahmins aſſembled for the purpoſe by Mr. Haſtings, from the moſt ancient Sanſcreet treatiſes on the ſubject. The Code bears, indeed, ſtrong internal evidence of the moſt profound antiquity, and in general by the inveſtigator of the policy and manners of Oriental nations, as well as in particular by the hiſtory of

Indian

Indian events, muſt ever be conſidered as an invaluable acquiſition. The veil that covered their theology, their metaphyſics, and their juriſprudence, was thus happily removed.— Their ethics, or ſyſtem of morals, remained ſtill to be diſcloſed; and we wanted an undoubted original picture, faithfully drawn from life, of Indian habits and manners in the moſt ancient periods of their empire.

Happily, to gratify the excited curioſity of the public, the grand deſiderata were ſoon obtained. Mr. Wilkins, who firſt ſprang the mine, and has ever ſince been indefatigable in his efforts to bring to light the ineſtimable, but buried, treaſures of Sanſcreet literature, in 1787, publiſhed a tranſlation of the HEETOPADES, or Amicable Inſtructions. This work, which Sir William Jones denominates "the moſt beautiful, if not the moſt ancient, collection of apologues in the world," was originally written in Sanſcreet, about eleven hundred years ago, by a venerable Brahmin, of the name of Veeſhnu-Sarma. So highly has the HEETOPADES been eſteemed for the ſoundneſs of its moral precepts, the judicious maxims it inculcates for the regulation of human conduct, both in private and public ſtation, and the beautiful ſimplicity of many

of

of the allegories in which they are delivered, that under other names, as the Fables of Pilpay, &c. &c. it has already been tranſlated into more than twenty languages of Europe and Aſia. In thoſe tranſlations, however, it has ſuffered much mutilation, as well as conſiderable diſtortion in its primitive feature of ſimplicity; and it is only in Mr. Wilkins's almoſt literal verſion that we ſee the faithful portrait of the beautiful original.

In 1788, Sir William Jones publiſhed his Tranſlation of SACONTALA, or the Fatal Ring, an Indian Drama, written by Calidas, an author of diſtinguiſhed merit in that claſs of Indian literature, who flouriſhed about a century before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra. In this publication we find exhibited a genuine and lively portrait of Indian manners and ſentiments, as they actually exiſted nearly two thouſand years ago, and poſſibly at a period far more ancient; ſince, according to the Brahmins, Duſhmanta, the regal hero of the piece, and huſband of Sacontala, ſate upon the throne of India above a thouſand years before Chriſt; and it is probable that the poet would ſo far obſerve conſiſtency, as to endeavour to repreſent the manners of the age in which Duſhmanta reigned.

It

It is, indeed, a moſt valuable acquiſition to the writer who would wiſh accurately to delineate thoſe manners, and throws conſiderable light upon many points, relative to their cuſtoms and opinions, with which the ancients were very ſuperficially acquainted, and which they have, frequently, very groſſly miſrepreſented. Theſe *four publications* I have uſed as a ſort of commentary to rectify what was falſe or elucidate what was obſcure in Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, Strabo, Philoſtratus, and Pliny; and I truſt the following pages, in which their relations are contraſted, will evince both the minute attention, and the unwearied diligence of the author, who firſt, in Europe, undertook the arduous taſk of comparing Sanſcreet and Greek literature.

Theſe various efforts, ſo worthy of a great and enlightened nation, to inveſtigate the ſciences, and develope the complicated annals of a people, concerning whom more has been WRITTEN, and leſs really KNOWN, than any other nation that anciently tenanted the vaſt regions of Aſia, were accompanied by the moſt active and vigorous perſonal exertions, of a ſimilar kind, upon the ſpot. — The palmyra-leaf, the papyrus, and even the inſcribed vellum, will periſh in a few revolving centuries;

but

but the engraved tablet of copper or braſs, and the ſolid column of marble, muſt, for a far more extended period, defy the corroding violence of time. —— Theſe were diligently ſought for, not only in our own ſettlements in the Eaſt, but through all the extent of Hindoſtan, by that literary ſociety of gentlemen eſtabliſhed under the auſpices of Sir William Jones, in Calcutta, denominated the Aſiatic Society. The ſcientific labours of theſe gentlemen are diſplayed in that grand repoſitory of Sanſcreet information, the two volumes of ASIATIC RESEARCHES, which have ſucceſſively arrived (the laſt only within a few months) in this country, the miniſtry of which never did a more wiſe or prudent thing, than when they ſent out the great Orientaliſt, their preſident, to ſuperintend the juriſprudence of thoſe Aſiatic provinces, the prevailing languages and manners of which were ſo familiarly known to him. The early efforts of that Society were crowned with ſignal ſucceſs. The buried tablet has been dug from the bowels of the earth; the fallen and mouldering pillar has been reared; coins and medals, ſtruck in commemoration of grand and important events, have been recovered from the ſepulchral darkneſs of two thouſand years; and the obſolete characters,

characters, engraved on their superficies, have, with immense toil, been deciphered and explained. It is by the increasing and concentrated light which those precious remains throw upon the classic page, that the footsteps of the historian must be guided, and his path through the obscure maze of antiquity illumined.

Abul Fazil, the learned Secretary of Akber, the most magnificent and powerful monarch that ever swayed the Indian sceptre, had previously, in the sixteenth century, by the most laudable and strenuous exertions, in some degree explored that path and penetrated that obscure maze. All the authority however of sovereign power, exercised in the mildest manner, and employed to promote the best purposes, by the most liberal of princes, added to the weight of influence, which his own distinguished talents and virtues gave him over the grateful race of Brahma, introduced that diligent investigator of Sanscreet antiquities little farther than to the threshold of the grand Temple of Indian theology and science. Of the vigour and extent of the Secretary's researches, the AYEEN AKBERY, or Mirror of Akber, remains a wonderful proof; and Mr. Gladwin, in obliging the Asiatic world with a version of that work, in 1783, has much contributed

tributed to mitigate the toil of the Indian Geographer and Annaliſt. Of this celebrated production, which Major Rennel terms an Authentic Regiſter of all matters relating to Hindoſtan, that is, as far as they were known to Akber, being equally high in price, and difficult to be procured, I was not ſo early in poſſeſſion as I could have wiſhed; but having, at length, by the favour of Samuel Johnſon, Eſq. of the India-Houſe, obtained it, I have amply profited by that gentleman's ſpontaneous kindneſs. The firſt volume of this Oriental performance treats rather of Mohammedan than Indian manners; of the arrangement of the court of Akber; and of the œconomy of his houſehold. In the hiſtory of that Emperor's reign it will be of infinite uſe; but was foreign to the ſubjects more immediately under diſcuſſion. Of the ſecond volume, which contains the geography of the Soobahs, and a conciſe hiſtory of their ſeveral ſovereigns, the reader will find in the following ſheets ſo correct an abridgement as cannot fail highly to gratify his curioſity, and cannot injure the tranſlator, who, I heard with regret from his London bookſeller, is no more! Of the third volume, which treats of the aſtronomical conceits, the theological, metaphyſical, and other ſcientific ſpeculations,

ſpeculations, as well as of the ſeveral degrees and numerous penances, of the Hindoos, he will alſo find the ſubſtance interſperſed throughout the body of theſe extended Diſſertations.

The great work of the MAHABBARAT, now tranſlating by Mr. Wilkins, and of which Abul Fazil himſelf anciently gave a Perſian verſion, not being, as yet, in the poſſeſſion of the public, I can only, for the preſent, ſubmit to that public the epitome of its contents, which is prefixed to Feriſhtah's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, compared throughout, with great diligence, with the Perſian Annals of Mirkhond, with the Tartar Hiſtory of Abulgazi Bahadur, and ſuch other Oriental Hiſtories as are in my poſſeſſion, of which the number is not ſmall, nor have they been procured by the author without infinite labour and reſearch, or heavy and accumulated expenſe. This chaſm, however, with the permiſſion of the tranſlator, ſhall hereafter be filled up, and the reader will, I truſt, find the dark period and events, to which that voluminous detail bears reference, as ſatisfactorily elucidated, as I flatter myſelf he will the obſcure hiſtory of the AVATARS themſelves, *or the ten deſcents of Veeſhnu.* During theſe inquiries into the remoteſt hiſtorical antiquities of Aſia, as I have conſtantly

conſtantly kept the Sacred Volumes and the invaluable fragments of Chaldæan Hiſtory by Beroſus before me, with all that Biſhop Cumberland, Stanley, Hyde, Athanaſius Kircher, and others, have written upon the Phœnicians, Chaldæans, Perſians, and Egyptians; and, as I have diligently contraſted them with the later and more profound diſquiſitions of Sir William Jones, in the Aſiatic Reſearches, relative to the origin and early hiſtory of thoſe nations, I truſt I ſhall not be thought preſumptuous for offering a deciſive opinion with reſpect to that remote period and thoſe apparently fabulous events. I conſider the whole as only a corruption of ancient Chaldæan hiſtory and traditions, and therefore have referred the incidents of the GREAT WAR recorded in the Mahabbarat, and all the romantic accounts, given in the ſame volume, of the battles of the Indian SOORS and ASOORS, that is, the good and evil Genii, to the conteſts of the ſons of Shem and Ham for the empire of the infant world. In ſhort, I have the moſt confident hope of being able to DEMONSTRATE, as I proceed, that the wars of the Giants and Titans of other nations are known in India under that denomination; and the evidence which I ſhall adduce of the wonderful ſimili-

tude between the primitive theology and manners of the Chaldæans and Indians, eſpecially in the veneration for *ſacred fountains*, formerly ſo prevalent in Caſhmere, the region of India probably firſt inhabited, will go far towards confuting the romantic ideas that have gone forth into the world, of the unfathomable antiquity of the Hindoos, and of the ark of Noah reſting upon the Indian Caucaſus, inſtead of Mount Baris in Armenia.

After having read with laborious attention whatever has been written concerning India by the Perſian and Arabian hiſtorians, of whom we have been favoured with elegant Latin verſions by Pocock, Erpenius, Golius, Hudſon, Reiſke, and other great Oriental ſcholars, I ſate down to the ſerious re-peruſal and examination of what the ancient authors, eſteemed claſſical, had delivered in relation to that country; but, from the little I already knew of its native hiſtory, I ſoon found their accounts, for the moſt part, to be replete with miſconception, if not with groſs error. Porus, or rather Pourava, (for that, Sir W. Jones has informed me, was the real name of the undaunted oppoſer of the great Alexander,) the reigning rajah of a country called the Panjab, from the five rivers that water it, ſeems

ſeems to have been univerſally miſtaken for the Supreme Monarch of India, to whom, probably, that prince was only one, though not the leaſt formidable, among many tributary princes; and the ſubjugation of a province of that mighty empire was, with the uſual vanity of the Greeks, magnified into the conqueſt of India. By comparing, however, the relations of the Greek and Roman writers with thoſe of FERISHTAH, and the other Oriental hiſtorians, of whom, a liſt of thoſe in my poſſeſſion is added to this preface, I gradually obtained that knowledge of the ancient hiſtory and manners of the Indians, which I have attempted to exhibit in the volumes which will ſucceſſively ſolicit the attention of the indulgent public. Had there been any work at that time publiſhed, or had I known of any work intended to be publiſhed, that promiſed to include the ancient and modern hiſtory of India, according both to Sanſcreet and Claſſical writers, and preſent to the reader a comprehenſive view of the wonderful tranſactions performed, during the period of near four thouſand years, on that grand theatre, I ſhould never have ventured upon an undertaking at once ſo arduous and ſo hazardous.

As ſoon as I had formed the reſolution, in the beſt manner I might be able, to ſupply that defect, I communicated my intention to Sir William Jones, in India, with whoſe friendſhip I was honoured at an early period of life, and who returned me ſuch an anſwer as encouraged me both to proceed with vigour and to aſpire with ardour. He was at the ſame time ſo obliging as to impart a few hints for the conduct of the work, which I have anxiouſly endeavoured to follow. I likewiſe ſubmitted the Propoſals for my intended Hiſtory to the Court of Directors of the Eaſt-India Company, accompanied with a Letter, in which I took an extenſive ſurvey of the great outlines of that hiſtory. Nothing could be more flattering to an infant undertaking, than the applauſe which that Letter procured me from the moſt reſpectable quarters: and, indeed, as a proof that the diſtinguiſhed body of men, to whom it was addreſſed, thought that the author had exerted laborious aſſiduity in the inveſtigation of the obſcure ſubject which he profeſſed to elucidate, an immediate anſwer was returned, and *forty ſets* of the Hiſtory ſubſcribed for. Both the Letter itſelf and the Anſwer are printed by way of introduction to the firſt volume of the Hiſtory itſelf.

The

The liberal conduct of the Directors, on this occasion, to an unpatronized ſtranger, affords deciſive evidence that an enlightened aſſembly of Britiſh merchants are equally above the baſeneſs of prejudice and the meanneſs of avarice; and that, *however humble the inſtrument*, they are never indifferent to the advancement of Literature and the diffuſion of Science.

I frankly own to the candid reader that I knew not, at the time, the full extent and magnitude of the undertaking in which I had embarked. At my very entrance into the grand hiſtoric field, through the whole ample circuit of which it became neceſſary for me to range, a field over-run with exotic and luxuriant vegetation, ſuch a proſpect unfolded itſelf, as, I confeſs, at once diſheartened and terrified me. Such a variety of complicated and profound ſubjects preſſed for diſcuſſion, before the way could be ſufficiently cleared for an entrance upon the immediate path of Hiſtory; ſo deeply were the wild fables of Indian Mythology blended with the authentic annals of regular Hiſtory; that the *proper* execution of the arduous work ſeemed to demand the exertion of abilities, as well as the command of fortune, to which I could by no means lay claim. It ſoon occurred to me, that, inſtead of the

ſolitary exertions of an individual of moderate talents, of confined and precarious income, with no powerful patron in the high and ſplendid circles of life to protect, and no opulent private connections vigorouſly to promote, the work, the completion of ſo extenſive a plan as that laid down by myſelf required the united efforts of ſome conſiderable literary ſociety, combining a ſplendid aſſemblage of genius and erudition, and embodied for the purpoſe, with every public library in the kingdom at their ſervice, and, I might add, the public treaſury alſo at their command. The ſtupendous ſyſtem of the BRAHMIN CHRONOLOGY, extending back through millions of years; the obſtinate denial of a GENERAL DELUGE by thoſe Brahmins; the perplexing doctine of a TRINITY IN THE DIVINE NATURE, for ever occurring in the operations of the grand Indian Triad of Deity, Brahma, Veeſhnu, and Seeva, a doctrine not to be traced to any immediate connection with the Jewiſh nation, yet more conſpicuous in India than even in the *Triple Mithra* of Perſia, and *the Globe, the Wing, and the Serpent*, which, according to Kircher, formed the Trinity of Egypt; theſe were among the numerous, the delicate, and abſtruſe, topics, which neither the

clerical

clerical nor hiſtorical function in which I had engaged would allow of being paſſed over in ſilence.

I had not, at firſt, formed the remoteſt conception, that, to enter into the ſpirit of the Ancient Sanſcreet Hiſtory of India, or to render that hiſtory intelligible to the reader, it would be neceſſary to engage in the deepeſt aſtronomical ſpeculations of the Oriental world; yet, as I advanced in my inquiries, I found that kind of knowledge to be indiſpenſable; for, in fact, the primeval hiſtories of all the ancient empires of the earth amount to little more than the romantic dreams of aſtronomical mythology. This is particularly evident in Hindoſtan, from the two great and moſt ancient rajah-families being denominated SURYA-BANS and CHANDRA-BANS, or Children of the Sun and Moon.

I have entered farther into theſe aſtronomical diſquiſitions than my friends may think was either neceſſary, or, in regard to the ſale of my book, *prudent*; but this particular ſubject was intimately connected with others of a higher nature and more momentous reſearch.—The daring aſſertions of certain ſceptical French philoſophers with reſpect to the Age of the World, whoſe arguments I have

attempted to refute, arguments principally founded on the high aſſumptions of the Brahmins and other Eaſtern nations, in point of chronology and aſtronomy, could their extravagant claims be ſubſtantiated, have a direct tendency to overturn the Moſaic ſyſtem, and, with it, Chriſtianity. I have, therefore, with what ſucceſs the reader muſt hereafter determine, laboured to invalidate thoſe claims, with all the perſevering aſſiduity which a hearty belief in the truth of the former, and an unſhaken attachment, not merely profeſſional, to the latter ſyſtem, could not fail of exciting and animating. While engaged in thoſe inquiries, the fortunate arrival of the ſecond volume of the Aſiatic Reſearches, with the various diſſertations on the ſubject, of Sir William Jones, and of Mr. Davis, who has unveiled the aſtronomical myſteries of the famous SURYA SIDDHANTA, the moſt ancient Sanſcreet treatiſe on that ſcience, enabled me to purſue with ſatiſfaction, with ſecurity, and, I truſt, to demonſtration, the plan which I had previouſly formed, and upon which alone the difficulty can be ſolved.

Guided by ſuch indiſputable authorities, I truſt I have proved, in the firſt volume of my Hiſtory, that the perſonages, who are ſaid to have

have flouriſhed ſo many thouſand years in the earlieſt ages, were of celeſtial, not terreſtrial, origin; that their empire was the empire of imagination in the ſkies, not of real power on this globe of earth; that the day and year of Brahma, and the day and year of Mortals, are of a nature widely different; that the whole jargon of the YUGS, or grand periods, and conſequently all thoſe preſumptuous aſſertions of the Brahmins, relative to the earth's antiquity, have no foundation but in the great ſolar and lunar cycles, or planetary revolutions; and that CHALDÆA, and not INDIA, was the parent-country of mankind. In proof of this laſt aſſertion, I have produced a few remarkable inſtances which evince the primitive languages of Chaldæa and India not to be greatly diſſimilar; that the name ADAM may be traced to the Sanſcreet root, ADIM, or *the firſt*; that in the prophetic and regal title of MENU of India may be recognized the patriarch Noah; that their great hero BALI, an appellative ſynonymous with the Bel, or Baal, of their neighbours, is no other than Belus; and that all the prodigies of valour and wiſdom fabled of the renowned DIONYSIUS of India, if true, are only true of Rama, the ſon of Cuſh. Whatſoever partial objections may be urged againſt the

ſyſtem

ſyſtem thus adopted by me, I am convinced that it is the only baſis upon which any ſolid hiſtory of Ancient India can be founded; and every freſh inquiry confirms me in that opinion.

Among the various kinds of evidence hereafter adduced in corroboration of my idea, I have appealed to one particular ſpecies, of a nature equally curious and remote from common inveſtigation. If it happen that Criticiſm ſhould point any ſevere ſtrictures on that portion of my work, I ſhall think myſelf exceedingly ill repaid for literary toil, which coſt me many nights of painful vigil, and which, from the intenſe application I was compelled to beſtow upon the ſubject, materially injured my health. It was an attentive and accurate inſpection of the Solar and Lunar Zodiacs of India, inſerted in the ſame valuable collection, the former conſiſting, like that of Egypt and Greece, of *twelve* conſtellations, ſimilar in order and deſignation, except in the ſigns Virgo and Gemini, and the latter of *twenty-ſeven*, reſembling the MANAZIL-AL-KAMAR of the Arabians, that firſt ſuggeſted to me the hypotheſis upon which I have beſtowed indefatigable pains, and which I ſhall now curſorily unfold.

That

That the "ancient hiſtory of the illuſtrious families of Greece, during the poetical ages, might be read in the heavens" was the opinion of the late Mr. Coſtard, one of the moſt profound Oriental aſtronomers ever born out of Aſia. But it is a fact notorious, and allowed by all proficients in that noble and wonderful ſcience, that the Greeks, although they carried aſtronomy to a ſurpriſing height of improvement, were not the inventors of it. They borrowed from the Egyptians their knowledge of its principles; and, in their wild ambition to have themſelves conſidered by poſterity as the moſt ancient nation on earth, and their country as the ſole fountain of the arts and ſciences, they adapted to the conſtellations, *already formed*, the various parts of their own fabulous hiſtory. Sir Iſaac Newton, indeed, in his leaſt perfect work, "the Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended," has affirmed, that Chiron firſt formed the ſphere for the uſe of the Argonauts; but even a name ſo highly and deſervedly eminent as Newton's cannot ſanction a palpable error. Dr. Rutherforth, in one of the moſt ingenious productions on the ſubject of natural philoſophy that ever was publiſhed, has in the cleareſt manner evinced, that the conſtella-

tions,

tions, delineated on the ſphere, though apparently alluſive to the Argonautic expedition, could not poſſibly be the fabrication of Chiron, or any other Grecian, for that purpoſe; ſince the greateſt part of the ſtars in the conſtellation Argo, and, in particular, Canopus, the brighteſt of them, were not viſible in any part of Greece; and no aſtronomer would be ſo abſurd as to delineate conſtellations to direct the courſe of a veſſel, the principal ſtars in which "could not be ſeen by the mariners, either when they ſet out, or when they came to the end of their voyage."* Although, undoubtedly, many of the figures of the conſtellations have the appearance of being ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, yet, that at leaſt thoſe of the Zodiac could not be of genuine Egyptian origin, among other evident proofs which will be hereafter adduced by me, one or two only ſhall be ſtated at preſent. In the firſt place, they are not adapted to the order in which the ſeaſons ſucceeded each other in Egypt. For inſtance, the ſign Virgo, which is repreſented by a young female, with ears of ripened corn in her hand, evidently points to the

* I ſhall, hereafter, have occaſion to cite this curious paſſage of Dr. Rutherforth more at length. It is in the ſecond volume of the Quarto Edition, page 850, Cambridge, 1748.

the ſeaſon of the harveſt. Such, in fact, it is in moſt countries when the ſun enters into that ſign, that is, in September; but, in Egypt, where the fertility of the country depends upon the annual overflowings of the Nile, and where conſequently the concerns of agriculture are both managed on different principles and directed by peculiar local regulations, the period of the harveſt is in March; or rather, as Pliny has recorded it, *paulo ante Calendas Aprilis.** The ſame argument forcibly applies to the ſign Aquarius, by which are meant the chilling rains of the bleak winter-ſeaſon; whereas hardly any rain at all falls in Egypt, and their winter is the fineſt ſeaſon. Hence it is evident, that the Egyptians could not have been the inventors of a form and order of the conſtellations inapplicable to their own climate, but muſt have brought a ſphere already fabricated for the uſe of agriculture and navigation, from ſome primeval country inhabited by them, before their migration to the banks of the Nile; and that primeval country, we are informed from the moſt ſacred authority, was CHALDÆA.

Impreſſed,

* Plinii Nat. Hiſt. lib. xviii. cap. xlvii. Aldi edit.

Impreſſed, therefore, with ideas on the ſubject, ſimilar to thoſe that ſwayed Mr. Coſtard's mind; but, at the ſame time, convinced that the " hiſtory to be read in the heavens" neither alluded to the Grecian, nor wholly to the Egyptian, mythology; I have adventurouſly launched into a new region of hiſtorical inveſtigation, and have attempted to give, from the ample and recording tablet of the ſkies, the real hiſtory of the firſt grand family of the poſt-diluvian world. I have commenced the hiſtory of the ancient ſovereigns of Hindoſtan, that is, of the children of the ſun and moon, from the ætherial region whence they probably emanated; and a compariſon, which I have been enabled to make, of all the Oriental zodiacs, ſolar and lunar, that could be procured by my reſearches into books of antiquity, fully corroborates the ſyſtem upon which I have proceeded. Indeed, ſo wide has been the range I have found myſelf compelled to take, of ſuch an extenſive nature were the ſubjects that continually roſe and demanded elucidation, that, in the former part of the work, I ſeemed to be under the neceſſity of writing, not ſo much the Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, AS THE HISTORY OF ASIA ITSELF, AND OF THE HUMAN RACE IN THEIR INFANT STATE.

Without

Without taking this enlarged retrospect of ancient periods, the early history of an empire, undoubtedly one of the first established upon earth, blended as that history is with theological and astronomical speculations, and involved as it is in that of Assyria and Persia, would be totally unintelligible.

While Dr. Rutherforth combats the assertion of Sir Isaac Newton, that Chiron formed the first sphere for the use of the Argonauts in their voyage to Colchis, he yet allows, that many of the constellations of the Grecian, that is, (as Mr. Costard in another treatise has proved,) the Chaldæan sphere, apparently allude to that event; but then he thinks they were fabricated at a period *subsequent* to its completion, and were intended only as *memorials* of it. With respect to the event itself, Mr. Bryant, in the second volume of his Analysis of ancient Mythology, has offered very substantial arguments to evince that it never took place at all, and that the whole story originally arose from some misapprehended traditions relative *to the ark of Noah*, and the sacred personages that attended him on the most important voyage ever recorded. Had Mr. Bryant more frequently directed his attention to that Persian and Arabian literature which

which Mr. Richardſon, in his Diſſertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eaſtern Nations, ſeems to think he treated with too much contempt, he might have derived a ſurpriſing ſupport to his aſſertions from many of their aſtronomical productions. For inſtance, in Dr. Hyde's tranſlation of Ulug Beg's tables of the fixed ſtars, the ſign Argo is ſimply called Stella Navis, that is, *the conſtellation of* the ship; and there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that, in naming the ſtars, the royal aſtronomer of Perſia followed ſome very ancient aſtronomical tables, known in his own country; ſince, had he copied thoſe of Ptolemy, he would have denominated it, after that writer, Αργȣς αςεϱισμος, the aſteriſm of Argo.

Mr. Bryant has ſlightly mentioned, from this author, that, by Orion, the Perſians uſually underſtand Nimrod, and that *an altar* formed part of the ancient ſphere; but he might have gone farther than this, and, in the ſigns of the zodiac, and the conſtellations of the Southern hemiſphere in particular, have diſcovered many other ſtriking circumſtances, relative to the early poſt-diluvian ages. The ample notes, which Dr. Hyde has added to this work of Ulug Beg, upon every one of the

the forty-eight conſtellations, into which the ancients divided the viſible heavens, with the enumeration of their ſeveral Oriental appellations in Chaldee, Hebrew, Perſian, and Arabic, with large extracts from the writings of various Aſiatic aſtronomers, exhibit an ineſtimable treaſure of intelligence in this line of ſcience, which ſeems never before to have been ſufficiently attended to by the Eaſtern antiquary or the hiſtorian of Aſiatic events. Surely, if the ancient Greeks had the *policy* to adapt their mythologic details to conſtellations totally irrelative to their hiſtory, the moderns ſhould have the *honeſty* to reſtore to the Chaldæans, what it is evident originally belonged to them, and what I am of opinion can be proved to allude to the primitive hiſtory of mankind. The whole of the fifteen Southern conſtellations, probably the firſt delineated on the celeſtial ſphere, appear to me to afford an illuſtrative commentary upon, and to yield deciſive teſtimony to, the truth of THE TEN FIRST CHAPTERS OF GENESIS. For, in memorial of what other events, except of thoſe important ones that engroſſed the grateful admiration of the poſt-diluvian fathers of mankind, were placed in the heavens, firſt, the conſtellation of NAVIS, or *the*

ship; secondly, ARA, or *the altar*, with its vast body of fire and smoke ascending near the Triangle, the remarkable Egyptian symbol of Deity, I mean of the NUMEN TRIPLEX; thirdly, the SACRIFICER, whom the Greeks (for a reason which I shall hereafter explain) denominated Chiron, the centaur; fourthly, the BEAST about to be sacrificed, improperly called *lupus*, since Ptolemy uses the term Θηριος, and the Arabian appellative of the constellation is translated *fera* by Dr. Hyde; fifthly, CORVUS, or *the raven*; sixthly, CRATER, or the *cup of libation*, called by the Egyptians *crater beneficus Osiridis*, and I trust that no truth can be more indisputably proved than that which I have laboured to establish in the following pages, that Osiris and NOAH are the same. Seventhly, eighthly, and ninthly, with respect to the CANIS MAJOR, the CANIS MINOR, and LEPUS, that is, the *greater* and *lesser dog*, and *the hare*, situated so near to Orion, the great and iniquitous hunter both of men and beasts; I shall take the liberty of inserting the illustrative words of my author himself. Dr. Hyde tells us, the JEWS call this constellation, Gibbor, that is, *gigas, the giant*. He then adds, *Propter duas Canes et Leporem quæ sunt in viciniâ,*

poetæ

poetæ fabulati Oriona fuisse venationis studiosum: isque, in cælo existens, fuerit sicut Nimrod, Gibbor Sajid, i. e. Gigas, seu Potens venatione coram Domino. In this place I cannot but dissent from Dr. Hyde, and think there is far more truth than fable in the supposition that Orion and Nimrod mean the same person. The whole of the remaining constellations of the Southern hemisphere are composed of *aquatic* objects or animals, and may be considered as pointedly allusive to a GENERAL DELUGE, *at least* as pointedly as any of the others can be *to the expedition of the Argonauts.*

So far Dr. Hyde, in his profound astronomical commentary upon Ulug Beg, was of use to guide my adventurous step through this dangerous ground, as far as I know, untrodden before; and from this author, and the elegant version of the astronomy of Alfraganus, by the learned Golius, I acquired such a knowledge of the Persian and Arabian astronomy as enabled me to proceed with increasing confidence in this complicated inquiry. The Egyptians, however, who, during the revolution of so many centuries, devoted themselves to the study of this science, and who were so universally celebrated as the

most expert astronomers in the ancient world, appeared to merit still more attentive examination. Fortunately, in the second volume of Kircher's Œdipus Ægyptiacus, there is preserved that invaluable relic of antiquity, the ancient sphere of the philosophic progeny of Mizraim, in many of the fabulous characters and hieroglyphic delineations engraved upon it, totally different from that of the Chaldæans, but still bearing each to the other such a general feature of similitude, as to demonstrate their originating in the fertile invention of the same race, and their correspondence to the early events of one common country. In my observations upon this sphere, I have remarked, that, though Kircher might be, in some instances, what Warburton represents him, a learned visionary; yet, as he was indefatigable in procuring, from every quarter, the hieroglyphic symbols of Egyptian knowledge, their genuineness may be depended on, when his conjectures possibly may not. I shall not, however, prolong these pages, by dwelling at present on any particular instances that might be brought to illustrate the foregoing assertion, but shall pass on to the cursory consideration of one or two remarkable circumstances that struck my eye in

in reviewing the ſolar and lunar zodiacs of India: in the former of which there is, in my opinion, a ſtrong corroborative teſtimony of that deluge which the Brahmins ſo peremptorily deny ever to have taken place in Hindoſtan. It is in the ſign Virgo, who, as Sir William Jones obſerves on that zodiac, "is drawn, ſtanding on a boat in water, holding in one hand a lamp, and in the other an ear of rice-corn;"* circumſtances which equally recall to our remembrance the Egyptian Iſis and the Eleuſinian Ceres, with the nocturnal gloom in which their rites were celebrated; as they do the awful event, which I have united my humble efforts with Mr. Bryant to prove thoſe rites depicted.† With reſpect to the NAC SHATRA, or Manſions of the Moon, which form the Lunar Zodiac, it is poſſible that the argument I have brought to prove that this very curious mode of meaſuring out the heavens, ſo totally foreign to, and unknown in, all the ſyſtems of European aſtronomy, originated among the aſtronomers of India, may be thought deciſive: viz. that it could not be *borrowed* from Chaldæa or Arabia, becauſe the Lunar Zodiac of India con-

* See the Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. ii. p. 292.

† See vol. ii. of theſe Diſſertations.

sists, and ever did consist, of twenty-seven mansions only; while, according to Costard, that of Chaldæa, and, according to Hyde, that of Arabia, have ever contained twenty-eight mansions, besides the curious catalogue of animals and objects, almost all of them peculiar to India, by which those mansions are distinguished, such as the head and teeth of the elephant, sacred conques, an instrument used in their temples, and *Indian tabors*, affords additional proof of this assertion. One, however, of the asterisms of that zodiac is not so peculiarly Indian, since we find among the number *an oblation to the gods*, noticed before; which I as firmly believe to be allusive to the offering of Noah when he descended from the ark, as I am convinced the *two-faced image*, delineated on another, does to Noah himself, the only true *Janus Bifrons* of the ancient world. However, in my history of the three first Indian Avatars, I have been able to adduce far more decisive evidence, relative to the general deluge, than can be collected from any symbols, or displayed in any hieroglyphics whatsoever. Nothing but the abstruse and intricate nature of the subjects concerning which it treats could have prevented, long ago, the appearance of that volume,

in

in which all theſe particulars are enumerated; but, as I have now toiled through the moſt difficult part of it, the compariſon of the ſeveral Eaſtern ſyſtems of the Coſmogony; and as nearly three hundred pages of it are already printed off; the public may expect the firſt volume of my hiſtory, with elegant engravings of ſome of the principal AVATARS, and inſcribed, where gratitude dictates, to the Court of Directors, in the courſe of the enſuing year.

One principal inducement, next to the higher motives, explained above, for entering into this wide aſtronomical range, was the anxious wiſh by this means to throw light upon the obſcure annals and involved chronology of ancient India, an object which has been effectually obtained by it. To that important point I have directed all the ſcattered rays of information, which I could collect in the courſe of theſe reſearches; and, although I have by this means been enabled, I truſt ſucceſsfully, to combat the claims of the Brahmins to ſuch ſtupendous antiquity as that inſiſted on by them, yet have I not neglected, at the ſame time, to ſubſtantiate every juſt and well-founded claim the Hindoos can urge to ſuperiority, either in regard to their early

 civilization,

civilization, or their rapid progreſs to perfection in arts and ſciences, when thoſe aſſumptions do not militate againſt all the received opinions and traditions of mankind. Notwithſtanding their abſurd geographical notions which the reader will find exhibited, from Sanſcreet authority, in a future page of this volume; yet there is every reaſon, from the doctrine of the ſeven ſuperior BOBUNS, or purifying ſpheres, through which they ſuppoſed the tranſmigrating ſoul to paſs; and from the CIRCULAR DANCE, in which, according to Lucian, in his Treatiſe de Saltatione, they worſhipped the orb of the Sun; to believe they had, in the moſt early periods, diſcovered that the earth in form was *ſpherical,* and that the *planets revolved round the ſun.* Beſides the knowledge of the true ſolar ſyſtem, which Pythagoras moſt probably learned in India, there is every reaſon to think that they were acquainted with ſpherical trigonometry, and that ſomething very much like the Newtonian ſyſtem of attraction and gravitation was known among them. Indeed, Sir William Jones ſeems to confirm this, when he informs us, that " the works of YAVAN ACHARYA are ſaid to include a ſyſtem of the univerſe, founded on the principle of AT-

TRACTION,

TRACTION, and the CENTRAL position of the sun," which I think it is far more likely Pythagoras learned of this philosopher in India, than this Brahmin of Pythagoras in Greece; for, to have gone thither, he must have renounced the self-sufficient character of that haughty tribe, and have violated a leading precept of the religion and policy of Brahma. This very early knowledge of the great fundamental principles of astronomy seems to be incontestably proved by a passage, which immediately follows in the third discourse of Sir William Jones, "that the names of the planets and zodiacal stars, which the Arabs borrowed from the Greeks, are found in the oldest Indian records."* In short, while I have anxiously endeavoured to do justice to the superior claims to credit of the Mosaic system, I have been careful not to do the Brahmins injustice. I have that kind of partiality which every historian possesses for the nation whose history he is probably induced by that very partiality to record; but, I trust, it has seldom misguided my judgement, and in no instances falsified my narration.

Our path, thus cleared through the mazes of ancient astronomical mythology, and the history

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 430.

hiſtory of the TEN AVATARS, or deſcents of Veeſhnu in a human form, which ſeem to be of a ſimilar nature with the TEN SARI of Chaldæa, and the TEN SEPHIROTH of the Hebrews, extenſively explained, the ſerious body of claſſical hiſtory will commence towards the middle of the firſt volume, with an account of the ſucceſſive irruptions of the Aſſyrians, the Perſians, and Grecians, into that beautiful country, the delightful ſurvey of which has, in every age of the world, awakened the envy, inflamed the jealouſy, and ſtimulated the avarice, of neighbouring deſpots. The alternate operation of theſe baſe and degrading paſſions has too frequently contributed to cover the moſt fertile plains which Aſia can boaſt with ſterility, and deluge them with the blood of the innocent natives. Of the plan upon which this portion of the enſuing hiſtory, taken from the claſſical writers of Greece and Rome, and the Perſian and Arabian hiſtorians, will be conducted, an ample proſpectus is given in my Letter to the Directors of 1790: to that Letter I muſt refer the reader, and he will there find an abridged account of moſt of the authors, Oriental and European, cited in the courſe of the Hiſtory.

History. I have neglected no means in my power of making this work a complete analysis of Indian history. I have penetrated to the fountain-head of all authentic intelligence which concerns that region, and, commencing my narrative at the remotest known æra of great national events, have brought it down to the latest that can at all deserve the notice of regular history; even from that Semiramis, whom Diodorus describes as pouring her millions upon its ravaged frontiers, to that disastrous moment, when, according to the recent relations of Mr.Frazer and Sir W. Jones, the sanguinary usurper of the throne of the SEFI's planted the standard of Persia upon the battlements of DELHI.

To an undertaking thus comprehensive in its design and important in regard to its objects, an undertaking generally allowed to be, at this moment, *a desideratum in literature*, it might naturally have been expected, that not only the Court of Directors themselves, who, in fact, manifested by their resolution so early and so flattering an attention to the address of the author; but that all those gentlemen in their service, or otherwise, who from situation or connection could not be indifferent to Indian concerns, would

have

have extended their powerful ſupport and patronage.

It was not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that the man of buſineſs would be intereſted by the faithful detail profeſſed to be given of commercial tranſactions during ſo many revolving centuries, and that the man of letters would be induced decidedly to ſupport a production recommended by a circumſtance equally novel and gratifying; that *in one work, of ſmall expenſe,* was to be combined the ſubſtance of all the moſt eſteemed Perſian and Arabian hiſtorians upon the ſubject, of whoſe productions correct and elegant verſions have been yet preſented to the public; productions mouldering upon the ſhelves of public libraries, or depoſited in the inacceſſible muſeums of learned individuals; productions equally high in value and difficult to be procured.

For myſelf, conſcious that I had, by continued inquiry, by extenſive reading, and intenſe application, endeavoured to prepare myſelf for the important taſk in which I had engaged, I too eagerly indulged thoſe ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs, which were entertained by the private circle of my friends. Enjoying from nature a very ample portion of

of thoſe high and volatile ſpirits, which as they are often in early youth the occaſion of many errors, afterwards regretted, ſo in riper years they too frequently buoy up with falſe hopes the deluded imagination; I ſuffered thoſe ſpirits to betray me into the moſt fatal deluſions. I exulted in the fair proſpect that a life early marked by the viciſſitudes of fortune, or rather continually paſſed in the extremes of gay hope and gloomy diſappointment, as it approached its meridian, was likely to be cheered with the dawn of ſucceſs and a ſhare of probable independance; that ſome moiety of the public applauſe would be the conſequence of inceſſant efforts to merit it, and that an adequate portion of emolument would be the reward of ſevere literary toil. I therefore embarked, in the purchaſe of the various books, charts, and engravings, neceſſary for the compoſition or elucidation of my work, a conſiderable part of a ſmall fortune, which fell to me by the untimely death of a near and beloved relative, and, as I was ſettled in the country, remote from the convenience of a public library, and was conſtantly in want of many expenſive publications in regard to India, which, indeed, from their

their recent date no public library could furnish, I continued to accumulate expenses of this kind, till a sense of prudence compelled me to resort to the bookseller to know the result of the distribution of my proposals and the publication of my advertisements. Let it for ever repress the ardour of romantic ambition and the enthusiastic dreams of authors unknown to fame, and unprotected by patrons invested with the ensigns of power and stationed at the helm of political eminence, that, in the course of twelve months, THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN, a work sanctioned by the approbation of THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY in England, and SIR WILLIAM JONES in India, was able to obtain only *a dozen* subscribers! — It was not, however, a little flattering to the author, that amongst that number of unsolicited subscribers was the Marquis of Lansdown, who sent an agent to inquire concerning the author, and to express his Lordship's hope that "so meritorious a work might not sink for want of proper support." His Lordship could only form a judgement of its possible merit from my Letter to the Directors; of which I printed a thousand, at the expense of Forty Pounds, and

and have ſince been obliged to diſtribute them *gratis*.

However deeply wounded were my feelings at this, I truſt, unmerited neglect, eſpecially from thoſe high and eminent perſons, to whom I was from good authority informed that a Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, upon an enlarged and comprehenſive ſcale, would be of all things the moſt acceptable; they were ſtill more deeply goaded, when, unwilling to venture farther in an undertaking that ſeemed to threaten total ruin to any individual, two or three of the moſt reſpectable bookſellers, to whom I immediately offered my work, declined having any thing to do with a production which, it was predicted, the ſuperior pen and the tranſcendent abilities of Dr. ROBERTSON would not fail to cruſh in the embryo.

To names exalted into celebrity by the veneration of vulgar ignorance and the clamour of popular admiration, always *violent* but ſeldom *juſt*, the mind, accuſtomed to think independently and liberally, diſdains to pay unmerited homage. But to a name ſo deſervedly eminent as that of Dr. Robertſon, I bow with ſubmiſſion proportioned to the real reſpect which I entertain for his writings
and

and his virtues. Had his Hiſtorical Diſquiſition at all appeared to me to render unneceſſary an undertaking, propoſed to be conducted on a far more extenſive ſcale, I ſhould certainly have paid that deference to *him*, which I deem it not neceſſary to pay to others, and have relinquiſhed the field to ſo able a writer of Hiſtory. But, ſince our undertakings can by no means be ſaid to claſh, and are executed on principles widely different, I truſt my perſeverance will not be imputed to improper vanity, nor miſtaken for idle competition. The field is open to all, and the range is ample. If it ſhould not be in my power to obtain the firſt laurel, a ſecond, and no ignoble palm, may yet be mine.

Diſappointed in my hopes and injured in my property, my work treated with contempt by ſome and with neglect by others, I ſtill relaxed not from the vigorous proſecution of it. I felt that the active ſpark of honeſt ambition, enkindled in my mind, was far from being extinguiſhed; nor was I entirely deſerted, at this trying criſis, by thoſe conſtitutional ſpirits which I have ſometimes found to riſe in proportion to the urgency of adverſity; and which, amidſt the various ſcenes of a chequered life, have often enabled

abled me to trample on greater difficulties than even these.

In spite therefore of menaced ruin both to reputation and fortune, I determined to persevere; and, commencing those strenuous exertions, which I had hitherto neglected to make, in the hope that a work, so generally deemed a Desideratum, would make its own way, the scene became suddenly and agreeably changed. The friends who yet remained to me at Oxford were not deficient in their endeavours to serve me; and I was repeatedly told to look to the Seat of Science for that support, with which it was humbly hoped an effort in literature would be honoured. The instant that my views were candidly stated, and the real object of this historical investigation came to be more generally known, I had no reason to complain of a want of due encouragement from men of learning and distinction.

Dr. Wetherell, the Master of University-College, ever anxious to promote the interest of those who have been educated at the College over which he has so long and honourably presided, on my application to him, readily and warmly espoused the cause of my book. I had soon the happiness of proving that cha-

racters so eminent in the path of genius and erudition, as are Dr. PARR and Sir WILLIAM SCOTT, were by no means indifferent to the success of their former pupil; since they at once animated my desponding mind by commendation, and, by their personal exertions, promoted the success of my work. The result of these united efforts of my friends, to prevent a publication, which they thought meritorious, from being entirely laid aside, is evident in the respectable, though not numerous, list of subscribers with which I was honoured; which, however defective in names, celebrated in the records of Indian fame, contains many illustrious by rank, eminent in talents, and distinguished by private worth. They are indeed such names as must reflect lustre on any publication, and it shall be the unceasing study of my life to merit such exalted patronage.

In respect to the general neglect with which the undertaking, in which I have embarked, has had the misfortune to be treated by those gentlemen, to whom, from their connection with that country, it might be supposed a History of India, upon a more extended basis than what I originally proposed, would be highly acceptable; it is far from my wish to think with sentiments of acrimony, or retort the

the language of contempt. Were I indeed inclined to *retaliate*, opportunity might not be wanting, in the future pages of this Hiſtory, to launch forth into the uſual ſtrain of inflamed invective againſt the enormities aſſerted to have been committed in India, by certain characters, equally hoſtile to literature and freedom, who are *ſuppoſed* to have grown rich by the plunder, and ſplendid by the beggary and maſſacre, of their fellow-creatures. By an author inclined to indulge a ſatirical vein, an infinite deal of eloquence might again be diſplayed in painting a vaſt continent deluged with blood, and in bemoaning the untimely fate of millions expiring in the pangs of artificial famine. Eloquence and truth, however, do not always unite in the ſame page. Whatever real foundation there may be for believing that ſome dark tranſactions of this kind have taken place in India, in thoſe remote regions where the reſtraining arm of the ſupreme executive power could leſs effectually check extortion, and where the diſintereſted generoſity of a late chief governor could be leſs conſpicuouſly viſible; it is a fact notoriouſly evident that theſe accounts have, in many reſpects, been enor-

moufly magnified. This work will be conducted upon principles very diffimilar from thofe which diffeminate calumny and point invective. I have declared, in my neglected Letter to the Directors, that I will endeavour to fulfil the character of "AN UPRIGHT AND IMPARTIAL HISTORIAN, TOTALLY FREE FROM THE VIOLENCE OF PARTY, WITHOUT THE TEMPORISING SERVILITY THAT DISGUSTS, AND THE INTEMPERATE ARDOUR THAT OFFENDS." It is my intention fteadily and invariably to adhere to that line of conduct; and though ufurpation and tyranny, arrayed in imperial purple and gorgeous in the fpoil of nations, ought never to enjoy their ill-gotten grandeur uncenfured by the warning voice of hiftory, that cenfure fhould be manly, open, decifive, and pointed rather againft the offence than the individual. In fact, however, during the extenfive review which I have been obliged to take of the fucceffive tranfactions of Perfians, Tartars, Venetians, Portugueze, Dutch, French, and Englifh, with the Indians; the proceedings of the latter, except in the inftance of a few daring and unprincipled individuals, whofe extortions no incorporated affembly of merchants, however inflexibly

flexibly virtuous themſelves, can ever wholly prevent, have appeared to me to be by far the moſt candid, the moſt upright, and the moſt irreproachable. Such are my real ſentiments, and I unfold them without the remoteſt idea of flattering or offending any creature breathing, either in Aſia or Europe.

I am willing to believe that this neglect has ariſen from the apparent plauſibility of an argument, which either jealous competition or inventive malevolence has thought proper to advance in regard to this undertaking, with far more pertinacity than truth. What, theſe raſh calumniators have urged, either novel or intereſting, can poſſibly be expected from an author who has never viſited the remote region which he profeſſes to deſcribe; who has never on the ſpot examined the annals he undertakes to detail; nor converſed with the people whoſe hiſtory and manners he records? To this objection I truſt the following, with every candid mind, will be a ſufficient anſwer.

It was the good fortune of M. Sonnerat and M. Niebuhr to have viſited, in perſon, the ſcenes which their accurate and entertaining volumes deſcribe; but they travelled with peculiar advantages, and at the expenſe of

*royal munificence.** What they saw they faithfully described; and mankind are highly indebted to them for their labours, nor have I in particular failed to profit by them; but let it be remembered that a knowledge of Indian Antiquities was not to be gained by a transient visit to the traders on the coast of Coromandel or Malabar; nor, had it been possible to penetrate even to BENARES, are the Brahmins of that celebrated university able fully to explain the principles of their own theology and sciences. This is particularly true in regard to their astronomy, since they are ignorant of the right application of those stupendous instruments, described so accurately by Sir Robert Barker, in the Philosophical Transactions. Besides, when we daily meet with so many who have penetrated even into the regions of Upper Hindostan, who both know so little and have written so absurdly about India, this objection, methinks, should have been urged with

* The numerous and explanatory engravings, in the expensive volumes of these travellers, have infinitely contributed towards the elucidation of the Indian Antiquities. Without those of Niebuhr, it would have been impossible to have given any correct idea of the figures at Salsette and Elephanta; and, without those of M. Sonnerat, the History of the Ten Avatars would have been scarcely intelligible. I have presented my subscribers with one beautiful plate from each of those writers.

with ſomewhat more caution and temper. Upon the whole, therefore, nothing could be more unjuſt or cruel, than for theſe ungenerous critics, on ſo ſlender a foundation, prematurely to condemn and decry a work, of the compoſition of which they muſt be utterly unable, from a ſuperficial ſurvey, to comprehend either the arduous toil or the complicated difficulty. However, I truſt, in vindication of my own injured reputation, and the perſevering zeal of my friends, that in every page of the following work the reader will find a better anſwer to this objection than any in my power in this place to produce.

There is likewiſe another objection which has been urged againſt this work, and from the conſideration of which I will not ſhrink. "The author," it has been ſaid, "is not acquainted with the Aſiatic languages." On this ſubject, let the words of Sir W. Jones be remembered, that "languages are not *ſcience*, but only the *medium* through which ſcience is conveyed." This remark comes with peculiar force from an author, who is, perhaps, the greateſt maſter of languages in the world; and if correct verſions, ſuch as thoſe with which himſelf and Mr. Wilkins have obliged the public, from the Sanſcreet, and ſuch as Po-

cock, Golius, and Greaves, have given us of Persian and Arabian historians, can be procured, who is there that would waste the vigour of life in the learning of languages, from which, after all, the information to be reaped will scarcely compensate the toil? Could translations, to be depended upon, be obtained in so extensive a degree as I may require for the conduct of this History, I can assure the reader that the hieroglyphic characters in which Eastern literature is veiled, for me, should remain undisturbed. That not being entirely the case, I am slowly endeavouring to accomplish what Sir William, at my entrance upon this undertaking, recommended to me; "to acquire a sufficient knowledge of Persian to enable me to give a new translation of Ferishtah;" a work, he adds, greatly in esteem among all Indian scholars, but of which Mr. Dow's translation is a very loose and imperfect one.

Hitherto, however, I have had subjects far more important to attend to than the mere acquisition of languages; and, when the reader shall consider the numerous difficulties with which I have had to contend, in writing the Indian Antiquities; when he shall reflect, that I had to *read*, to *digest*, and to *compose*, what is thus offered to the public, from an infinite variety

riety of books, which it was often neceſſary to ride from Woodford to London to procure, and even then not procurable, but by tedious reſearch among the bookſellers ſhops, and at a very conſiderable expenſe; and that the topics upon which I have written are both very abſtruſe and very remote from the common line of literary inveſtigation; he will, I truſt, permit candour to predominate over ſeverity, and inſtead of wondering that *ſo little*, he will, perhaps be ſurpriſed that *ſo much*, has been accompliſhed.

I can indeed ſafely affirm, in the words of the honoured patron of my juvenile productions, the late Dr. Johnſon,* that this work was

* My mentioning in theſe terms the venerated name of the late Dr. Johnſon will not, I truſt, be called preſumption.——There are thoſe living who can atteſt the handſome manner in which he always ſpoke of two very early, but very different, productions of mine: THE SCHOOL-BOY, written, when at ſchool, in imitation of THE SPLENDID SHILLING of Philips; and the FREE TRANSLATION OF THE ŒDIPUS TYRANNUS OF SOPHOCLES. The former may be ſeen in Mr. Knox's Elegant Extracts; the latter never wandered beyond the circle of the ſubſcribers.

Indeed I cannot forbear ſtating a circumſtance peculiarly honourable to myſelf, and illuſtrative, at once, of the natural goodneſs of his heart. At my entrance into orders, he wrote, unſolicited by me, a warm and friendly letter, to the Maſter of Univerſity-College, in my favour, with the proffer of a lucrative cure "if Mr. Maurice were in orders;" of which circumſtance he was ignorant.

was "written with little aſſiſtance from the learned, and without any patronage of the great; not in the ſoft obſcurity of retirement, or under the ſhelter of academic bowers, but amidſt inconvenience and diſtraction, in ſickneſs and in ſorrow." I had ſcarcely commenced my hiſtorical career, before I was called, upon an occaſion the moſt diſtreſſing to human feelings, to exchange the blooming plains of Aſia and the banks of the Ganges, where I began, in imagination, to range with delight, for the rugged rocks and Lethean ſtream of Briſtol-Wells. It was, indeed, an occaſion no leſs painful and diſtreſſing than the ſight of diſtinguiſhed worth, heightened by unaffected beauty, in the bloom of youth, ſlowly deſcending to the unfruitful grave. No ſooner was that melancholy event over, for which the too much honoured lines, in the Church-Yard of Woodford,* feebly attempt to diſplay the genuine

norant. I *was*, at that time, in orders, and fixed at Woodford, which particular reaſons prevented my relinquiſhing for Boſworth, the living of his friend Dr. Taylor. The Maſter was ſo obliging as to ſend to me, to Woodford, Dr. Johnſon's letter, which I keep as a flattering memento of his friendſhip, and a ſtriking proof, among others, of his enlarged philanthropy.

* As a part of theſe verſes, very inaccurately tranſcribed, has appeared in the public papers, I ſhall make no apology for inſerting

genuine grief of the writer, than the circum-ſtances of vexation and diſappointment, above recapitulated,

ſerting them below more *correctly* and *unmutilated*. I can aſſure the reader that, in doing this, I have no *vanity* to gratify. To compoſe them was the moſt painful taſk (a taſk enjoined, near the cloſe of life, by the amiable deceaſed) that ever agonizing poet undertook. In preſenting them to the reader, however, I own I have *ſome* ambition to gratify. I am ambitious of paying a *public* tribute of reſpect to worth, untimely ſnatched away, and ſenſe early matured; and, if theſe volumes, by good fortune, ſhould reach poſterity, may her name and memory, that muſt ever be dear to virtue and to truth, deſcend with them, and conſecrate the page.

EPITAPH ON A LADY.

SERENELY bright, in bridal ſmiles array'd!
The purple ſpring its bloſſom'd ſweets diſplay'd;
While raptur'd fancy ſaw full many a year,
In bliſs revolving, urge its gay career.——
But, ah! how deep a gloom the ſkies o'erſpread;
How ſwift the dear deluſive viſion fled!
Diſeaſe and pain the ling'ring hours conſume,
And ſecret feed on youth's corroded bloom.
Ceas'd are the ſongs that fill'd the nuptial grove,
The dance of pleaſure in the bow'r of love——
For Hymen's lamp funereal torches glare,
And mournful dirges rend the midnight air!
Oh! thou, whoſe cheek, the rival of the roſe,
With all the fluſh of vernal beauty glows,
Whoſe pulſes high with youthful vigour bound,
The brighteſt fair in faſhion's mazy round,
Approach with awe the manſions of the dead,
And, as the grave's drear bourn thy footſteps tread,
Mark—'midſt theſe ravages of fate and time—
Where WORTH lies buried in its lovelieſt prime;

Where

recapitulated, ſucceſſively roſe to throw an additional ſhade over the remainder of a life, which ſeems doomed to be paſſed in extremes.

I have no intention, in recapitulating theſe diſagreeable particulars, to excite the compaſſion or diſarm the ſeverity of the public cenſors, who are now to paſs judgment upon this work, but only mention them as the beſt apology

Where YOUTH'S extinguiſh'd fires no longer burn,
And BEAUTY ſlumbers in the mould'ring urn!
Oh! pauſe — and, bending o'er fair STELLA'S tomb,
Mourn *her* hard lot, and read *thy* future doom!
Soft lie the ſod that ſhields from wint'ry rains
And blaſting winds my STELLA'S lov'd remains:
May angels guard the conſecrated ground,
And flowers, as lovely, bloom for ever round!
Meek ſufferer — who, by nameleſs woes oppreſs'd,
The patience of th' expiring Lamb poſſeſs'd;
When, many a tedious moon, thy fever'd veins
Throbb'd with the raging HECTIC'S fiery pains,
Nor heav'd a ſigh — ſave that alone which bore
Triumphant virtue to a happier ſhore —
STELLA, whoſe ſtreaming eye ne'er ceas'd to flow
When ſorrow pour'd the plaint of genuine woe,
Whoſe mind was pure as that unſullied ray
That beams from heav'n, and lights the orb of day;
Sweet be thy ſlumbers on this moſſy bed,
Till the laſt trump ſhall rouſe the ſleeping dead;
Then, having nought from that dread blaſt to fear,
Whoſe echo ſhall convulſe the crumbling ſphere,
In fairer beauty wake — a heav'nly bride,
And riſe an ANGEL, who a MARTYR died!

apology I can offer for the LONG DELAY in presenting the public with the two first volumes of Indian Antiquities, which ought to have made their appearance in the course of last year. The public tribunal is an awful court, and I approach it with all the diffidence which a first effort, by an unaided individual, towards executing an extensive literary work, cannot fail of inspiring; but I know the judges, presiding at that tribunal, are neither to be soothed by entreaty nor intimidated by menaces. It is in vain, if unmerited, to hope for the favour of the public; or to divert its censures, if deserved. "I have now set my *all* upon a cast; and I *must* stand the hazard of the die."

Having thus far considered the objections that *have been made* to this work, I must beg leave, before I conclude these introductory remarks, to mitigate the force of one or two that *may* be urged against it. The first, and not the least formidable, will probably be pointed against the *orthography* of the proper names of Indian persons and places. This I own is one of the greatest difficulties which an historian of Asiatic events has to encounter; for, to attempt always to give them with undeviating correctness, is to attempt little less

than

than an impoſſibility. When I firſt commenced this hiſtory, I had reſolved to follow the example of thoſe who have endeavoured to write every Indian word exactly as it is pronounced in India; and the Dictionary of Mr. Richardſon, in which the author, as he himſelf informed me, followed the orthographical inſtructions of the late Major Davy, Perſian Tranſlator to Mr. Haſtings, ſeemed to be the moſt certain guide. But to Major Davy's ſyſtem, I afterwards found material objections were made, in the Diſſertation of Sir William Jones, on the orthography of Aſiatic words, which ſo properly ranks foremoſt among the valuable papers in the firſt volume of the Aſiatic Reſearches; and I have ſince, in general, adopted his own method, and thoſe of Mr. Halhed and Mr. Wilkins. But the profound obſervations in that treatiſe, concerning the Sanſcreet language, and the proper modes of writing it in Roman letters, as well as many other remarks on this abſtruſe ſubject, by the latter gentlemen, will be exhibited to the reader in the Diſſertation on the LITERATURE of the Hindoos. In the Geographical Diſſertation for the moſt part, and throughout the whole of my Hiſtory, when names of places occur, I have conſtantly uſed the

the mode of orthography adopted by Major Rennell, who is undoubtedly the beſt judge of what, in that reſpect, is moſt proper. I ſay, in the Geographical Diſſertation, *for the moſt part*, becauſe, in abridging the geography of the Subahs, I was compelled often to adopt the language of Mr. Gladwin, the tranſlator, who ſeems ſcrupulouſly to adhere to the maxims of Major Davy. The reader will therefore find, in that Diſſertation, a variety of orthography which I cannot approve, but knew not well how to avoid. It was the Diſſertation firſt written, and under the general impreſſions of the private advice of Mr. Richardſon, "to write the words as nearly as I could learn, both from his Dictionary and general information, that they were pronounced;" but as that pronunciation itſelf is various in different parts of India, and even among Indian ſcholars themſelves, my only certain guide in this dangerous path was, to keep as cloſe as poſſible to the *general rule of orthography*, and to make Mr. Orme, and other authors of the higheſt repute, my examples. In obſerving this rule, it was hardly poſſible for me to err materially, or beyond the extenſion of candour, in a point ſo dubious and perplexing. *Acbar*, however, will

ſometimes,

ſometimes, with all my vigilance, occur for *Akber*; *Shaw* for *Shah*, and *Cawn* for *Khan*; to which mode of writing thoſe appellatives, I have now thought it expedient wholly to conform: becauſe, though Major Rennell writes Acbar and Acbaree, yet, as I conſtantly quote the Ayeen AKBERY of Mr. Gladwin, in the *notes* to my hiſtory, it ſeemed abſurd to have ACBAR in the *text*; or *Shaw* and *Cawn* above, while I cite the Nadir SHAH of Sir William Jones, and Abulgazi KHAN, the Tartar hiſtorian, at the bottom of the page.

But, poſſibly, not againſt mere *words* alone will the artillery of criticiſm be diſcharged. The general ſtyle which I have adopted, in writing the Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, may alſo provoke cenſure, and theſe pages may be thought to abound too much with thoſe deſultory rhetorical flouriſhes, ſo common, and often ſo diſguſting, in Aſiatic productions.

As this objection tends peculiarly to wound certain poetical feelings which it is my miſfortune to poſſeſs, I requeſt to be heard upon it with patience and lenity.

Devoted to poetry in my earlieſt youth, or, rather, liſping numbers from the cradle; I purſued, till within theſe few years, that delightful but barren path of literary amuſement.

ment. It has happened, too that what my poetical exertions have produced has not been ſo fortunate as to attract the public notice. Amidſt continued and univerſal neglect, however, it is ſtill matter of honeſt triumph to me that the few detached pieces, in that way, which I have written, have received the warmeſt tribute of applauſe from men who would equally diſdain to *flatter* or *deceive*; from men upon whoſe ſterling judgment and upon whoſe unadulterated taſte I dare to rely; from men who know and feel the difference that ſubſiſts between the nerveleſs ſing-ſong effuſions of the day,. and that ſublime, energic, manly, POESY, that ſtrikes with the force of electric fire, and ſeizes upon the captive heart.——It is poſſible, therefore, that the MUSE, the bewitching enchantreſs of my juvenile days, that MUSE whoſe ſmile I ſo long and ſo ardently courted, may have in ſome degree corrupted my ſtyle and vitiated my taſte in this reſpect. Indeed, it is an adage of great antiquity, that "No poet ever yet excelled in proſaic compoſition," and I have not the vanity to hope that adage will be overturned by the pages of this book. Let it, however, be candidly conſidered that this is only a firſt eſſay towards any conſiderable

publication in that line of writing, composed amidst the pressure of domestic calamity and professional avocation, amidst the suggestions of misrepresentation and the jealousy of competition, amidst multifold discouragement and aggravated disappointment.

Application, perseverance, and a mind more at leisure to restrain a luxuriant pen and lop off the redundancies of my style, may contribute to render my next volume more worthy of the public eye. Happy shall I be if the FEW, who read and approved my early efforts in a branch of composition which I shall soon renounce for ever, may extend a similar degree of candour to my first effort in the line of history. I will, however, be ingenuous with my subscribers; for I frankly confess that, of INDIA, a country where Nature has ever wantoned as in her loveliest prime, and shines forth arrayed in her richest attire; of INDIA, a country renowned through all ages for the eloquence and wisdom of her sons of the line of BRAHMA; for the martial bravery of her rajahs of the house of KEHTREE; for the prodigies of exquisite art, and manufactures of beautiful fabrication produced by those of the tribe of BICE; as well as for the patient and unrepining gentleness,

gentleneſs, amidſt accumulated inſult and oppreſſion, of the induſtrious and numerous family of SOODER; I never intend to write a hiſtory unanimated in ſentiment or undignified in diction. How, indeed, was it poſſible to write with frigid indifference of the land of elegant fiction and beautiful allegory?—Has not M. Sonnerat,—has not Sir William Jones,—has not M. Raynal,—in ſhort, have not all the preceding writers on this ſubject, who have poſſeſſed any ſpark of animation to feel, any nerve of language to expreſs thoſe feelings, or any glow of genius to impreſs them on the breaſts of others, alternately launched forth into the warmeſt ſtrains of admiration on the ſurvey of the virtues, learning, fortitude, and induſtry, of this innocent and ſecluded race of men?

Let it be farther remembered, in mitigation of the error of a ſtyle ſomewhat, I own, too lofty and luxuriant, that ſome of the moſt important and animating ſubjects that can poſſibly be diſcuſſed have, in the courſe of writing theſe pages, ſucceſſively ariſen for conſideration—the pureſt, the ſublimeſt, ſyſtem of theology, next to the Jewiſh and Chriſtian, ever eſtabliſhed upon earth; and, when degenerating into idolatry, branching out either into

the moſt ſplendid rites of the moſt elevated ſuperſtition — the MITHRATIC devotion — that is, the worſhip of the Sun and ſhining Hoſt of Heaven: or elſe aſſuming the moſt gloomy habit in which that Superſtition can poſſibly array herſelf, in which ſhe terrifies mankind into the WORSHIP OF MALIGNANT DÆMONS and all the accumulated horrors of HUMAN SACRIFICES. Let it be remembered that the ancient glory of empires ſo renowned as Hindoſtan and Egypt, the ſtately temples of their gods, and the ſuperb palaces of their kings, engage no inconſiderable part of theſe extended ſpeculations: and that I have been, throughout, occupied in the alternate contemplation of objects the moſt magnificent in the circuit of nature,* or the moſt venerable and beautiful in the compaſs of art. It ſeemed to me *requiſite*, that the loftieſt ſubjects ſhould be treated of in language more than uſually elevated. To have written in colder terms, would have argued either want of capacity, or,

* I wiſh, particularly in this paſſage, to apologize for the manner in which, towards the cloſe of the Geographical Diſſertations, I have deſcribed the courſe of the mighty GANGES and the mightier BRAHMAPOOTER. But what author could remain unanimated when introducing to the reader's notice objects ſo little known to the learned of Europe? Objects equally aſtoniſhing and magnificent.

or, what I ſhould think far more degrading, have rendered me ſuſpected of inſenſibility.

It is uſual to conclude the prefatory pages of any conſiderable work with a grateful enumeration of benefits derived, in the courſe of compoſition, from men eminent as ſcholars, or illuſtrious by ſtation. But ſince few advantages of that kind, more than thoſe previouſly ſpecified, have fallen to my lot, my catalogue of obligations will, neceſſarily, be not very extenſive. It would, however, be the height of ingratitude, were I, on this occaſion, to omit the tender of my warmeſt thanks to WILLIAM MONEY, JOHN HUNTER, and NATHANIEL SMITH, Eſqrs. but eſpecially to the latter gentleman, who has long proved himſelf friendly to the diffuſion of Indian knowledge,* for their obliging recommenda-

 tion

* It ought to be remembered that both the BHAGVAT-GEETA and the HEETOPADES were uſhered into the world under the auſpices of the ſame gentleman, Mr. Smith, who has ſo kindly forwarded the intereſts of this humbler attempt to elucidate the Hiſtory and Antiquities of India.

When Britiſh merchants thus endeavour to blend the intereſts of LITERATURE with thoſe of COMMERCE, they throw a luſtre upon the diſtinguiſhed ſtation which they enjoy; a luſtre which wealth alone, however ample, or honourably obtained, can never beſtow. They bring to our remembrance the days of thoſe celebrated Caliphs of the Eaſt, equally diſtinguiſhed for their love of literature and

tion of my undertaking to the Court of Directors, in 1790, by which it received the ſanction of a patronage which has been of material ſervice to this infant work, and, I hope, that the patronage thus liberally extended will not be found to be degraded in the execution of it; eſpecially when the abſtruſe nature of many of the ſubjects diſcuſſed, and the ſlender ſources from which any genuine Hiſtory of ANCIENT INDIA can be drawn, ſhall have been candidly conſidered.

It would be equally ungrateful, were I to forget making the acknowledgments which are due from me to WILLIAM GODFREY, Eſq. as well for the free uſe of ſuch books as deſcended to him from his predeceſſors at Woodford, as for very early encouragement to proceed in theſe hiſtorical reſearches; the firſt idea of which originated, during my reſidence there, in repeated converſations with that gentleman on Indian topics; converſations fraught with

and arms, when Trade and Sciences travelled, ſide by ſide, through the ſultry deſerts of Arabia, in mutual queſt of riches and knowledge; and heard, with rapture, the poems repeated, which were afterwards ſuſpended in the auguſt temple of the grant mart of Mecca. It is to the eternal honour of this country, that we have not, in every period of its progreſs to its preſent proſperity, wanted many a SPEED to cultivate, and many a GRESHAM and SMITH to patronize, SCIENCE.

with inſtruction and remembered with pleaſure.

TO ROWLAND STEPHENSON, Eſq. my warmeſt thanks are alſo due, for indulging me, in addition to many inſtances of long-experienced friendſhip, with the examination of the papers of his upright relation, GOVERNOR STEPHENSON, who had the honour, in company with Mr. SURMAN, of obtaining from the Emperor MOHAMMED FURRUKHSEER, at Delhi, that *firmaun* by which the Eaſt-India Company became entitled, under the ſanction of the Mogul Monarchs, before the ſubverſion of their empire, to very extenſive commercial privileges. As Mr. STEPHENSON filled a high ſtation in India, during one of the darkeſt and moſt ſanguinary periods of its modern domeſtic hiſtory, when the tyranny of the SEYDS, thoſe mighty Omrahs, dethroned or murdered five ſucceſſive ſovereigns of the imperial houſe of TIMUR, I *expected*, and *have found*, material information from the peruſal of them. In one of the letters of this Gentleman to the Chief of Patna, his ſucceſſor, he declares it to be the determined reſolution of Himſelf and the Council of Calcutta "not to interfere with the politics of the country; but to carry on their trade *quietly*, and only to defend the

COMPANY'S ESTATE:" a wiſe and prudent maxim, which ſome may think ill exchanged for others of an ambitious and turbulent kind.*

Such is the ſlender liſt of literary obligations which I am under in carrying on this work. If, however, it has not been my good fortune to be favoured with the aſſiſtance of eminent living ſcholars, I have not wanted that of their writings, nor thoſe of the ILLUSTRIOUS DEAD. In proof of this, I now preſent the reader with a liſt of ſuch books as I have, at an enormous expenſe, provided for the completion of the Indian Hiſtory; and, as I have not always been ſo accurate in my references as I ought, I ſhall add their reſpective dates, particular

* After all, however, it muſt be confeſſed, that Europe and Aſia can never be governed by the ſame political code. The genius and manners of the inhabitants of the two continents are diametrically oppoſite; and nations, among whom the reſtleſs ambition and violence of individuals, even in private life, are frequently marked with a moſt ſanguinary character, while vice, in the great and powerful, as frequently breaks forth in deeds of public and aggravated enormity, can no more be kept under controul by the mild, the humane, but tardy, policy eſtabliſhed in European countries, than Europe will ever ſubmit to be governed by the deſpotic maxims that prevail in moſt Aſiatic governments. It may with truth be affirmed, that the natives of the Britiſh Eaſt-India ſettlements are the happieſt ſubjects in the whole extent of Aſia, at leaſt ſince the overthrow of the mild and patriarchal government of the ancient Hindoo emperors.

particular editions, and the place where they were printed. Such authentic tranſlations as I have conſulted I ſhall ingenuouſly give; for, in my opinion, uſeful knowledge is not to be deſpiſed, from whatſoever quarter it can be obtained. The liſt thus ſubjoined may be of ſervice to others in the purſuit of ſimilar ſtudies; and, by thoſe who are acquainted with the value of ſome of the volumes enumerated, and the great ſcarcity of others, may, poſſibly, be conſidered as altogether compoſing no contemptible collection of ASIATIC HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES.

From a ſurvey of the extenſive preparations made by me for completing the HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN, the reader muſt perceive that what I now offer to the patronage of the public will not be the production of a few leiſure hours, but of many years of contemplation and ſtudy; or, to ſpeak more truly, the inceſſant labour of a life, of which, ſome portion of the fleeting moments hath already been ſuffered to elapſe unimproved; of a life which may poſſibly be ſhortened by the toil of compoſing, if not embittered by the conſequences of the expenſe incurred in publiſhing, ſo hazardous a work. I cannot therefore conclude this Addreſs by ſaying, with my deceaſed

deceaſed friend Dr. Johnſon, that I diſmiſs this introductory volume with "frigid tranquillity;" ſince I have much to apprehend from CENSURE, and ſomewhat to hope from APPROBATION.

A

A LIST OF BOOKS, COLLECTED, By the AUTHOR, FOR THE ELUCIDATION OF THIS WORK.

In the GEOGRAPHICAL DISSERTATIONS, the books referred to, and occasionally compared, are the following:

Ptolomæi Geographia, Bertii, *folio* — *Amst.* 1618
Strabonis Geographia, *folio* — — *Basil.* 1549
Plinii Naturalis Historia, *folio* — — *Aldi.* 1549
Cellarii Geographia, 2 tom. *quarto* — *Cantab.* 1703
Dionysii Orbis Descriptio, *octavo* — *Londini,* 1688
Varenii Geographia Gen. *octavo* — — *Cantab.* 1712
Bocharti Sacra Geographia; seu, Phaleg. *Frankfort,* 1674
Bocharti Sacra Geographia; seu, Canaan, *Frankfort,* 1681
Abul Fazil's Description of the Indian Subah's in the third volume of the AYEEN AKBERY, 3 vol. *quarto* — — — *Calcutta,* 1784
Abulfedæ Chorasmiæ et Mawaralnahræ Descriptio, *Editore John Greaves,* — *Lond.* 1650
Antiquité Géographique de l'Inde, par M. D'Anville, *quarto* — — *Paris,* 1775

Eclair-

Eclairciſſemens Géographiques ſur la Carte de l'Inde, par Mr. D'Anville, *quarto* — *Paris*, 1753
Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci Minores, per John Hudſon, 4 vol. *octavo* — *Oxon.* 1712
Arriani Periplus Maris Erythæi — — *Oxon.* 1698
Memoir of a Map of Hindoſtan, by Major Rennell, *quarto* — — — *Lond.* 1788
Memoir of ditto, corrected and enlarged, *quarto*, *Lond.* 1791
Short Hiſtory of Aſia, by Sir William Jones, prefixed to the Life of Nadir Shah, *octavo* — *Lond.* 1773

To complete this collection of Indian Geography was wanting the Nubian Geography, by the Shariff Edriſi, which, unfortunately, no reſearch of mine could procure.

Books of Oriental and Hiſtorical Antiquities relative to the EGYPTIANS and ETHIOPIANS.

Athanaſii Kircheri ŒDIPUS ÆGYPTIACUS, 2 tom. *folio* — — — *Romæ*, 1652
Ludolfi Hiſtoria Æthiopica, *folio* — *Frankfort*, 1681
Ludolfi ad Hiſt. Æthiop. Comment. *folio*, *Frankfort*, 1691
Murtardi's Hiſtory of the Pyramids of Egypt, tranſlated from the Arabic, by M. Vatier, *duodecimo*, *Lond.* 1762
Abulfedæ Deſcriptio Ægypti, Arab et Lat. *Gottenburg*, 1776
Profeſſor Greaves on the Pyramids, *octavo*, *Lond.* 1737
Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Egyptiens et les Chinoiſes, par M. de P***, 2 tom, *octavo*, *Amſt.* 1773
Pignorii MENSA ISIACA, *quarto* — *Amſtelodami*, 1669
Horapollinis Hieroglyphica — — — 1600
Norden's Travels in Egypt and Nubia, with the beautiful illuſtrative engravings, *folio* — *Paris*, 1740
Abdollatiff's Egypt, by Profeſſor White, *octavo*, 1789

Perizonii

Perizonii Babylon. et Egypt. Origines, *8vo*, *Lugd. Bat.* 1711
Letters of M. Volney, on Egypt and Syria, 2 vol. *octavo* — — *Lond.* 1788
Letters of M. Savary on Egypt, 2 vol. *octavo*, *Lond.* 1787

Books elucidatory of HEBREW, PHŒNICIAN, CHALDAIC, and ARABIAN, Antiquities.

Waltoni BIBLIA POLYGLOTTA, containing the Jewish Targums, &c. 8 vol. *folio* — *Lond.* 1660
MISCHNA, editore Surenhusio, 6 vol. *folio*, *Amstelodami*, 1698
Abarbanel in Pentateuchum, *folio* — *Hanover*, 1710
Grabe's Septuagint, 4 vol. *folio* — *Oxon.* 1707
Josephi Antiquitates Judaicæ, 2 vol. *folio*, *Oxon.* 1720
Philonis Judæi Opera, *folio* — *Allobrogum*, 1613
Stanley's Chaldaic Philosophy, *folio* — *Lond.* 1615
Patricii Oracula Zoroastri, *folio* — — 1593
Basnage's Continuation of Josephus's History of the Jews, *folio* — — — *Lond.* 1708
Concordantiæ, Auctore M. de Calasio, 3 vol. *folio*, *Lond.* 1747
Schindler's Lexicon, Hebrew, Syriac, &c. *folio*, *Hanov.* 1612
Kennicott on the Hebrew Text, 2 vol. *octavo*, *Oxon.* 1753
Calmet's Antiquities, Sacred and Profane, *quarto*, *Lond.* 1727
Allix's Judgement of the ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians, *octavo* — — *Lond.* 1699
Dr. Wotton on the Rabbinical Traditions, 2 vol. *octavo* — — — *Lond.* 1718
Calmet's Great Hebraic Dictionary, 3 vol. *folio*, *Lond.* 1732
Gale's Court of the Gentiles, 3 vol. *quarto*, *Oxon.* 1672
Patrick on Genesis, &c. 9 vol. *quarto* — *Lond.* 1695
Buxtorfi Synagoga Judaica, *duodecimo* — *Basil.* 1615
Lowth on the Prophets, 4 vol. *quarto* — *Lond.* 1714
Poli Synopsis, 5 vol. *folio* — — *Lond.* 1699
Grey's Liber Jobi, Heb. et Lat. *octavo* — *Lond.* 1742

Spencer

Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum, *folio* — *Cantab.* 1685
Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, 2 vol. *octavo* — 1766
Monumenta Antiquissimæ Historiæ Arabum, per Schultens — — *Gottenburg*, 1774
Le Roque's Translation of Abulfeda's Arabia, *duodecimo* — — — *Lond.* 1718
Le Roque's Account of Arabian Customs and Manners, *duodecimo* — — *Lond.* 1732
SALE'S ALCORAN, 2 vol. *octavo* — *Lond.* 1734
Sir William Jones's Dissertation on the Ancient Arabians, in the second volume of the ASIATIC RESEARCHES.
Sanchoniatho's Phœnician History, by Bishop Cumberland, *octavo* — — *Lond.* 1720
Berosus et Manetho, apud Eusebium, *folio* — *Basil.* 1542
Selden de Diis Syriis, *octavo* — — *Leyden*, 1629
Bishop Cumberland's Origines Gent. Antiquissimæ, *octavo* — — — *Lond.* 1724
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ, *quarto* — *Lond.* 1680

In describing the Persian, Egyptian, and Grecian, MYSTERIES, and comparing them with those, which, I have endeavoured to demonstrate, were first practised in the CAVERN-TEMPLES OF INDIA, the following books and treatises are occasionally referred to:

Platonis Opera, 2 vol. *folio* — *Frankfort*, 1602
Apuleii Opera, 2 vol. *octavo* — *Edit. Biponti*, 1788
Jamblicus de Mysteriis, *folio*, *Edit. Gale, Oxon.* 1688
Taylor's Proclus, 2 vol. *quarto* — — *Lond.* 1788
Plutarch de Iside et Osiride, *Edit. Squire*, *octavo*, *Cantab. no date.*
Porphyrius de Antro Nympharum, *duodecimo*, *Cantab.* 1655

Macrobii

Macrobii Opera, *edit. Gronovii, octavo,* *Lugd. Bat.* 1670
Celsus apud Origen. contra Celsum, *quarto,* *Cantab.* 1658
Potter's Grecian Antiquities, 2 vol. *octavo,* — 1757
Warburton's Divine Legation, 5 vol. *octavo,* *Lond.* 1765
Cudworth's Intellectual System, 2 vol. 4*to. Edit. Birch.* 1743
Abul Fazil's Treatises on the Brahmin CHAR ASHERUM, or Degrees of Probation, and the various POOJAS and Purifications of the Hindoos, in the AYEEN AKBERY, vol. 3.
Mr. Holwell on the Fasts and Festivals and the Metempsychosis of the Hindoos, 2 vol. 8*vo,* *Lond.* 1766
Mountfaucon and Banier on the severe Rites of Initiation into the Mysteries of Mithras, in their respective works cited before.
Mr. Forster's SKETCHES of the Mythology and Customs of the Hindoos, *octavo* — *Lond.* 1785
Mr. Crauford's SKETCHES on the same subject, *octavo, first edition* — — *Lond.* 1790
Various Tracts of Buxtorf and Abarbanel, on the Jewish Purifications, *quarto* — *Basil,* 1662

*** With an enumeration of other authors, referred to in CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY, I shall not trouble the reader — they are numerous, and in general accurately cited in the notes.

Books illustrative of the Antiquities of PERSIA, INDIA, TARTARY, CHINA, and JAPAN.

VETERUM PERSARUM RELIGIONIS HISTORIA, Auctore Thomas Hyde, edit. secund. 4*to,* *Oxon.* 1760
BHAGVAT-GEETA, *quarto* — *Lond.* 1785
AYEEN AKBERY, 3 vol. *quarto* — *Calcutta,* 1783
Halhed's CODE OF GENTOO LAWS, *quarto,* *Lond.* 1776
SACONTALA, *quarto* — — *Lond.* 1786

HEETOPADES,

HEETOPADES, *octavo* — — *Bath*, 1787
ASIATIC RESEARCHES, 2 vol. *quarto*, *Calcutta*, 1788 & 90
ASIATIC MISCELLANY, *quarto* — *Ibid.* 1785
NEW ASIATIC MISCELLANY, 2 vol. *quarto*, *Ibid.* 1789
Kempfer's History of Japan, 2 tom. *folio*, *Lond.* 1728
Kemper's Amœnitates Exoticæ, 2 vol. *quarto*, *Lemg.* 1712
Mountfaucon l'Antiquité Expliqué, 15 tom. *folio*, *Paris*, 1719
Le Compte's Memoirs of China, *octavo* — *Lond.* 1698
Father Du Halde's Hist. of China, 4 vol. 12*mo*, *Lond.* 1741
Martinii Martini Sinica Historia, 12*mo*, *Amstelodami*, 1659
Ancient Accounts (*i. e.* Anciennes Rélations) of India and China, by M. Renaudot — *Lond.* 1733
Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, 8 tom. *duodecimo*, *Paris*, 1717
Chronologia Scythica Vetus, Opera T. S. Bayer, in Academiæ Commentariis Scientiarum Imperial. Petropolitan, 3 tom. — — 1732
Memoriæ Scythicæ, ad Alexandrum Magnum — *Ibid.*
Elementa Literat. Brahmanicæ, Tangutanæ, Mungalicæ,* — — — — *Ibid.*
Webb's Antiquities of China, *octavo* — *Lond.* 1678
Lettres Chinoises, Indiennes, et Tartares, à Monsieur Paw — — — *Lond.* 1766
Mr. Richardson's Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners, of Eastern Nations, *octavo* — — — *Oxon.* 1778
BIBLIOTHEQUE ORIENTALE, par M. D. Herbelot, *folio* — — *Maestricht*, 1776
Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, 3 vol. *quarto* — — *Lond.* 1774
Banier's Mythol. explained by History, 4 vol. 8*vo*, *Lond.* 1730

Dr.

* I found these three Treatises of Bayer, detached from the original work in which they were published, fortunately bound up together in a Persian book, which formerly was the property of Dr. Lort: they are equally curious and profound.

Dr. Musgrave's Dissertations on the Grecian Mythology, *octavo* — — *Lond.* 1728

The Dissertations of Sir W. Jones, in the second volume of Asiatic Researches, concerning the ancient Inhabitants of these respective Empires.

The Dissertation of the same Author, in the first volume of that production, on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India.

Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par M. Sonnerat, 2 vol. *quarto* — — *Paris*, 1782

Voyage en Arabia et Indes, par M. Niebuhr, 4 vol. *quarto* — — *Amsterdam*, 1780

M. Anquetil du Perron Zend Avesta, 3 tom. *4to*, *Paris*, 1771

D'Hancarville's Recherches sur l'Origine des Arts de la Grece, et sur les Monumens Antiques de l'Inde, de la Perse, &c. 3 tom. *quarto*, *Lond.* 1785

Parsons's Remains of Japhet, *quarto* — *Lond.* 1767

Mallet's Northern Antiquities, by Percy, *octavo*, *Lond.* 1770

Archæologia, vol. vii. *quarto* — *Lond.* 1785

In the extensive range which I have found it necessary to take in ORIENTAL ASTRONOMY, the following books have been my principal guide:

ULUG BEGII Tabulæ Stellarum Fixarum, translated, from the Persian into Latin, by Dr. Hyde, *quarto* — — *Oxon.* 1665

Mohammedis Tizini Tabulæ Stellarum Fixarum, Arabice et Latine, cura Hyde — — *Ibid.*

ABUL FAZIL's Treatise on the Hindoo Astronomy, in the third volume of the AYEEN AKBERY, *quarto* — — *Calcutta*, 1785

Sir William Jones, on the Aſtronomy of the Hindoos, in the ſecond volume of the ASIATIC RESEARCHES.

Mr. Davis, on their Aſtronomical Computations, *Calcutta*, 1785

Alfragani Elementa Aſtronomica, Arabice et Latine, Opera Jacobi Golii, *quarto* — *Amſt.* 1669

Traité de l'Aſtronomie Indienne et Orientale, par M. Bailly, *quarto* — — *Paris*, 1787

Hiſtoire de l'Aſtronomie Ancienne, par M. Bailly, *quarto* — — *Paris*, 1781

Aſtronomie, par M. De la Lande, 4 tom. *quarto*, *Paris*, 1790

Abrégé d'Aſtronomie, by the ſame — *Amſterdam*, 1774

Coſtard's Letters on the Riſe and Progreſs of Aſtronomy among the Ancients, *octavo* — *Lond.* 1746

Coſtard, on the Aſtronomy of the Chaldæans, *octavo*, *Oxon.* 1748

Coſtard's General Hiſtory of Aſtronomy, including that of the Arabians, *quarto* — *Lond.* 1777

Newtoni Principia Philoſophiæ, *quarto* — *Cantab.* 1726

Dr. Rutherforth's Syſtem of Natural Philoſophy, but particularly the Aſtronomical Section, 2 vol. *quarto* — — *Cambridge*, 1748

Dr. Rutherforth's Propoſitiones Aſtronom. in Inſt. Phyſic, *quarto* — — *Cantab.* 1755

Mr. Playfair, on the Aſtronomy of the Brahmins, in the firſt volume of the Tranſactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, *quarto*, *Edinb.* 1790

The various Aſtronomical Papers, diſperſed throughout the Philoſophical Tranſactions, abridged, 9 vol. *quarto* — — — *Lond.* 1756

Flamſtead's ATLAS CELESTIS, *folio* — *Lond.* 1781

Gregory's Elements of Phyſical and Geometrical Aſtronomy, including Halley's Synopſis of Comets, *octavo*, 2 vol. — — *Lond.* 1726

Gaſſendi

Gaffendi Inftitutio Aftronomica, *octavo* — *Lond.* 1653

In CHRONOLOGY, the Sifter-Science of ASTRONOMY, the books principally confulted are,

Syncelli Chronographia, *folio* — — *Paris*, 1652
Eufebii Chronicon, the Latin verfion, by Jerome, *folio* — — — *Amft.* 1658
Chronicon Pafchale, *folio* — — *Paris*, 1688
Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, *folio*, *Lugd. Bat.* 1752
Dodwell de Cyclis, *quarto* — — *Oxon.* 1702
Annales Ufheri, *folio* — — *Lond.* 1610
Jackfon's Chronological Antiquities, 3 vol. 4*to*, *Lond.* 1752
Kennedy's Scriptural Chronology, *quarto* — *Lond.* 1762
Sir Ifaac Newton's Chronology, *quarto* — *Lond.* 1728
Blair's Chronology of the World, *folio* — *Lond*: 1790
Sir William Jones's Differtation on the Chronology of the Hindoos, and the Supplement to that Chronology, in the fecond volume of the ASIATIC RESEARCHES.

Claffical, Oriental, and European, HISTORIANS, and mifcellaneous Writers, principally cited in the HISTORY ITSELF.

Herodoti Hiftoria, cum Ctefiæ INDICIS, *folio*, *edit.* Henrici Stephani — — 1592
Diodori Siculi Bibliotheca Hiftorica, *folio*, *Rhodomani*, 1604
Arriani Expeditio Alexandri et Hiftoria Indica, *edit.* Gronovii — — *Lugd. Bat.* 1734
QUINTI CURTII de Rebus Alexandri, *quarto*, *Freinfh.* 1670
Philoftrati Opera, *folio* — — *Paris*, 1608
MIRKHOND Hiftoria Priorum Regum Perfarum, Perfice et Latine, *quarto* — — *Viennæ*, 1782

Justini Historia, Variorum, *octavo* — *Ludg. Bat.* 1719
Plutarchi Opera, 2 vol. *folio* — *Frankfort,* 1620
Ammiani Marcellini Historia, *folio* — *Ludg. Bat.* 1693
Maffeii HISTORIA INDICA, *folio* — *Amstelodami,* 1589
Taciti Annal. Variorum, *octavo* — *Ludg. Bat.* 1685
Livii Romanæ Historiæ, *folio* — *Frankfort,* 1588
ABULFARAGII Historia Dynastiarum, Arabice et Latine, Pocockii, *quarto* — *Oxon.* 1663
ABULFARAGII Specimen Hist. Arab. Opera Pocockii, *quarto* — *Oxon.* 1659
ELMACINI (al Makin) Hist. Saracenica, Latine reddita Studio Erpenii, *quarto* — *Ludg. Bat.* 1625
ABULFEDÆ Annales Muslemici, Arabice et Latine, Opera Jacobi Reiskii, 1 and 2 tom. *Hafniæ,* 1789
ABULFEDÆ Annales Muslemici, Arabice et Latine, vol. 3 ejusdem Opera — *Hafniæ,* 1791
TARIKH FERISHTAH, a Persian manuscript.
Dow's Translation of Ferishtah's Indian History, 3 vol. *quarto,* 2d *edit.* — — *Lond.* 1770
Dow's Translation of Manuscripts, forming a Continuation of the Indian History, from the Death of Akber to the Death of Aurungzeb, *Lond.* 1627
ABULGAZI BAHADUR Khan's Histoire Généalogique des Tartares, *octavo* — *Leyden,* 1726
Genealogical Hist. of the Tartars,* 2 vol. *8vo, Lond.* 1730
ABULFEDÆ Vita Mohammedis, Studio Johannis Gagnier, *folio* — — *Oxon.* 1723
SHERIFFEDDIN, ALI YEZDI's Life of Timur Bec, first translated from the Persian into French by M. Petit le Croix, 2 vol. *octavo* — *Lond.* 1723

M. Petit

* This latter publication is more frequently referred to by me than the former, which I was not able to obtain till this spring. They are both very scarce, and the reader will find a large account of the work itself in my Letter to the Directors of 1790.

M. Petit le Croix Hist. of Gengis-Khan, *octavo*, *Lond.* 1722
Mirkhond's History of Persia, by Texeira, 8*vo*, *Lond.* 1715
Dr. White's Institutes of Timur, Persian and English, *quarto* —— —— *Oxon.* 1783
Ahmed Arabsaidæ (Ahmed Arabshah) Vitæ, et Rerum Gestarum Timuri, Hist. Arabice et Latine, Opera S. N. Manger, 3 vol. *quarto*, *Leovardiæ*, 1767
Sir William Jones's History of Nadir Shah, 8*vo*, *Lond.* 1773
Mr. Fraser's History of Nadir Shah, *octavo*, *Lond.* 1742
The Domestic History of Hindostan, during the Reigns of Jehaungeer, Shahjehaun, and Aurungzeb, composed from authentic Persian manuscripts, by Mr. Gladwin, *quarto* — *Calcutta*, 1788
Manouchi's History of the Mogul Empire, by Father Catrou, *octavo* — — *Lond.* 1709
Dr. Robertson's Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India, *quarto* — *Lond.* 1791
The Portugueze Asia, 3 vol. *octavo* — *Lond.* 1695
Prideaux's Connections, 4 vol. *octavo*, 9*th edit.* *Lond.* 1775
Shuckford's Connections of Sacred and Profane History, 3 vol. *octavo* —— *Lond.* 1728
Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Indes, par Abbé Raynal, 3 *tom.* *quarto* — *Geneva*, 1775
Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, *folio*, *Lond.* 1775
De Guignes, Histoire des Huns, des Turcs, &c. &c. 5 tom. *octavo* — — *Paris*, 1756
Les Six Voyages de M. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, en Turq. en Perf. et aux Ind. 6 tom. *quarto*, *Rouen*, 1713
Thevenot's Travels into the Levant, *folio* — *Lond.* 1687
Bernier's Memoirs of the Mogul Empire, inserted in the Harleian Collection of Voyages, 2 vol. *folio* —— —— *Lond.* 1745
Knolles' History of the Turks, 2 vol. *octavo* — 1704

The Travels of Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the sixth Century, apud Topograph. Christian. *Paris*, 1706

The Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, in the 12th Century, *octavo* — — *Lond.* 1750

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ADDENDA, relative to the MAPS and ENGRAVINGS, with which the two firft Volumes of Indian Antiquities are decorated, refpectfully addreffed to the Patrons and Encouragers of this Work.

WHEN, in the year 1790, I firft laid before the public propofals for the enfuing Hiftory of Hindoftan, my intention was to adorn the work with only an occafional map, illuftrative of its ancient and its modern geography. At the fame time, induced folely by the confideration of making it more generally ufeful, I intended and hoped to have compreffed the vaft mafs of events, tranfacted during the period of at leaft three thoufand years, into the fmall compafs of three octavo volumes, with a concife introductory differtation on the geography, the theology, and the laws and cuftoms, of the Hindoos, prefixed to each volume. Under the influence of the fame impreffions, I fixed the price of fubfcription for the undertaking at the moderate fum of ONE GUINEA. In vain, however, did I attempt to execute the work upon that contracted and economical plan. I foon

found that the brevity intended to have been adopted was totally incompatible with the various, the extenſive, and important, ſubjects, which I had undertaken to elucidate; and that, had I ſtrictly adhered to the literal tenor of the original propoſals, the unavoidable conſequence muſt have been, that an additional and ten-fold obſcurity would have veiled ſubjects, already of themſelves ſufficiently dark and intricate. Dr. Johnſon's deſcription of the ſublime genius of Shakeſpear, who, like the Indian Brahmins, ſoared far above vulgar conceptions and the received traditions of mankind, ſeemed, to me, very applicable to the genius of Sanſcreet Hiſtory.

EXISTENCE ſees it ſpurn her bounded reign,
And panting TIME toils after it in vain.

Upon explaining to my friends the diſagreeable dilemma in which I had been plunged, by my deſire to accommodate them with a work in which economy and utility ſhould be united, it was their decided opinion, that the original plan was too contracted, and the propoſed price of the production far inferior to the importance of the ſubject; that perſpicuity ought not to be ſacrificed to unneceſſary brevity; and that, while books made uſe

uſe of in the *elucidation only of this work* were vended at the high prices of five, ten, and fifteen, guineas, the price of the work itſelf ought to bear ſome proportion to the expenſes incurred during its progreſs to completion. — In conſequence of this advice, I enlarged the original plan, and finding, on a ſubject ſo novel, yet ſo intereſting, as the mythology of Hindoſtan, that abſtruſe but intereſting topics continually roſe for explanation, which greatly interrupted the progreſs of the hiſtorical detail, I determined to amplify the introductory portion of the work, and write diſtinct diſſertations upon the *geography*, *religion*, *laws*, and *literature*, of the Hindoos, into the body of which all extraneous matter of that kind, diſtinct from the regular hiſtory, but by no means unconnected with it, might be thrown, and which might be occaſionally and eaſily referred to. But here a new and moſt perplexing difficulty aroſe: while I daily advanced more deeply into the OCEAN of Hindoo mythology and ſciences, ſubjects ſo uncommon, and indeed, in ſome inſtances, ſo improbable, ſucceſſively preſſed for diſcuſſion, that the force of language could not fully elucidate them, nor the moſt ſolemn atteſtations of the moſt authentic travellers

vellers give them the ſtamp of credibility. I was therefore, to illuſtrate the ideas I wiſhed to convey, compelled to have recourſe to the power of another ſcience, and *Engraving* came in aid of her ſiſter *Mythology*.

The curioſity of the reader, it was ſuppoſed, would be, doubtleſs, inflamed to contemplate that ſtupendous buſt of the triple deity of India, in the cavern of Elephanta, which forms the frontiſpiece, and of which, according to the moſt accurate delineator, Niebuhr,* the height is thirteen feet; the length of the centre face, alone, is five feet; while the breadth, between the ſhoulders, expands to the enormous amount of near twenty feet. Even the relation of theſe dimenſions, in company, particularly, of thoſe of the ſtupendous erections by Sultan Akber, at Se-

cundra,

* The palm of ſuperior accuracy is, on all hands, ceded to this celebrated traveller. Even the ornaments of the caps on the head of this triple deity are minutely delineated. This is ſurely an argument greatly in favour of the authenticity of the plates by Niebuhr; though the general appearance, both of the caps and the buſt, here repreſented, materially varies from that exhibited in the ſeventh volume of the Archæologia, and in the large plate lately publiſhed, in this country, by Mr. Forbes. From a ſurvey of the engraving in the Archæologia, one would think that, by the centre, a female figure was intended to be repreſented. In my account of this coloſſal buſt, I have myſelf adhered as ſtrictly to the written relation of the Swediſh traveller as my engraver has to the deſign of it in his expenſive volumes.

cundra, near Agra, and thoſe of the walls of the grand pagoda of Seringham, which are four miles in circumference, has often ſubjected me to the ſmile of ſarcaſm and the ſuſpicion of credulity; but we are not to judge of Oriental architecture by the models of Europe, in which, as in ancient Greece, beauty rather than magnificence is ſtudied. It was natural for thoſe, who thought the Deity beſt repreſented, as I have elſewhere obſerved, by gigantic ſculptures and maſſy ſymbols, to fabricate their images in conformity to their magnified conceptions in theological concerns, and to erect the vaſt edifice of dimenſions proportionate to the auguſt form of the Divinity.

In an ancient Saſtra, or commentary upon the Vedas, tranſlated by Colonel Dow's pundeet, there is a paſſage which ſtrikingly demonſtrates the ſublime, but groſs, conceptions entertained by the Indians, concerning the Deity, which, probably, contributed to give their immenſe elevation and magnitude to the ſacred fabrics of Hindoſtan. "BRAHME, that is, the ſupreme God, from whom Brahma is only an *emanation*, exiſted from all eternity, in a form of infinite dimenſions. When it pleaſed him to create the world, he ſaid,

RISE

RISE UP, O BRAHMA! — Immediately a ſpirit, of the colour of flame, iſſued from the Deity, having four heads and four hands," emblematical, I preſume, of the four elements and the four quarters of the world. " Brahma gazing round, and ſeeing nothing but the immenſe image out of which he had proceeded, travelled for a thouſand years in the anxious endeavour to comprehend its dimenſions. But, after all his toil, he found his conceptions on that ſubject as dark as before. Loſt in amazement, Brahma gave over his journey. He fell proſtrate, and praiſed what he ſaw with his four mouths. The Almighty then, with a voice like ten thouſand thunders, was pleaſed to ſay, Thou haſt done well, O Brahma, for *thou canſt not comprehend me!*"*

The whole of the eleventh chapter of the GEETA is at once wonderfully ſublime and pointedly illuſtrative of their ideas of the Divine Being. There is alſo a paſſage, written in the true romantic ſtyle of Indian allegoriſts, which occurs in Sir William Jones's Diſcourſe on the Chronology of the Hindoos,

* See Dow's Introduction to Feriſhta's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, vol. i. page 50, ſecond quarto edition.

doos,* which difplays their conceptions on this point, and, being concife, fhall be here inferted.—"A thoufand great ages (centuries) are a day of BRAHMA; a thoufand fuch days are an Indian hour of VEESHNU; fix hundred thoufand fuch hours make a period of RUDRA; and a million of *Rudras*, that is, as Sir William has reduced them to arithmetical calculation, two quadrillions five hundred and ninety-two thoufand trillions of lunar years, are but a SECOND to the Supreme Being." Under fuch awful impreffions of the divine nature, who can be aftonifhed at the magnitude and extent of the temples erected in honour of the Deity by the fuperftitious Indian?

But to return to the fubject more materially under confideration, which is that of the increafed expenfe of thefe volumes, in confequence of the engravings, without which, I muft again affirm, the principal objects alluded to in the courfe of writing them would be but faintly elucidated. By cafting an eye upon the engraving of the grand pagoda, inferted in this volume, he will more eafily conceive their general form of conftruction, than it was poffible for me, by words, to inform

* Afiatic Refearches, vol. ii. p. 115.

form him; and he will comprehend hew eaſy it may be for an edifice, not covered in at the top, but containing, in its internal receſſes, ſmall chapels, as ſhrines of the gods venerated within its walls, to be erected of any proportions, however immenſe; while the fervour of that devotion, which originally planned, continued equally to animate, the Rajah, and his toiling ſubjects, to the completion of the magnificent fabric.

That a people, who, as they are repreſented by the correct pen of Mr. Orme, in the elegant preface to his Hiſtory, ſhudder at the ſight of blood, and are, upon that account, totally ignorant of the anatomy of the human body; that the timid and gentle Hindoo, who, from his notion of the Metempſychoſis, " afflicts himſelf at the death of a fly," and who is, perhaps, " the moſt puſillanimous and enervated inhabitant of the globe," ſhould once have profuſely ſhed, in ſacrifice, the blood of *men*, *bulls*, and *horſes*, is a ſtupendous phænomenon in the hiſtory of human nature; it is, however, a ſolemn fact, and the reality of its exiſtence, in very remote æras, is, I truſt, ſufficiently demonſtrated in the following pages. Without an engraving of CALI, the ſable goddeſs to whom

human

human victims were occasionally sacrificed, a work of this kind must have been imperfect; but of the only two portraits which I ever saw of that deity, the one is exhibited in Mr. Holwell's Historical Events, and the other in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches. Of these I wished rather to present the reader with the former, which was copied, by Mr. Holwell's artist, from the walls of an ancient pagoda, and is the one most descriptive of her savage character and nefarious rites. But, as the venerable author is, to the great happiness of a most numerous and respectable circle of friends, still living, and as our opinions on the subject unfortunately clash, I felt myself very delicately situated in regard to copying it, as I did not think proper to have it engraved without his permission; and I could only produce it in proof of an hypothesis different from his own. From this dilemma, however, I was soon relieved, by the kindness of his liberal and obliging relation, William Birch, Esq. of Dean-Street; and the figure has been engraved, on a contracted plate, with equal fidelity and spirit.

That superstitious veneration for the Sun and Fire, which, in the earliest ages, diffused itself

itſelf from UR, of CHALDÆA, through all the Aſiatic world, conſtitutes too remarkable and prominent a feature in the Religion of Hindoſtan, not to be conſpicuouſly brought before the eye of the reader in an engraving explanatory of its myſtic rites. The important magnitude of the ſubject, and the extenſive prevalence of that ſuperſtition, ſeemed, indeed, to demand from a writer on Oriental hiſtory and antiquities more than common attention, and therefore the exertions of the engraver have been called forth to furniſh my ſubſcribers with *three plates* elucidatory of that ſplendid idolatry. Of all the diſſertations on this curious worſhip, ſince Dr. Hyde's, in the Religion of the Ancient Perſians, ſtands deſervedly higheſt in repute, and is equally ſcarce as it is authentic, I have been obliged to that author for two of thoſe plates; the firſt immediately illuſtrative of the Sabian ſuperſtition, copied from the tombs of the ancient ſovereigns of Perſia, at ISTAKER, the ancient Perſepolis: the ſecond exhibiting a ſpacious FIRE-TEMPLE, with five lofy cupolas crowning the ſummit of the dome, and with cavities pierced in their ſides, to ſerve as vents for thoſe columns of ſmoke that for ever aſcended from the grand altar,

altar, erected within. The former is exceedingly curious, and has been borrowed by Mr. Bryant, as well as myſelf, in proof of obſervations which, in many points, muſt be unavoidably ſimilar in all inveſtigations of Aſiatic mythology. The comparative parallel, however, of the ſeveral ſyſtems of theology adopted in the neighbouring nations of Aſia, with thoſe of India, illuſtrated by engravings, has not been before attempted, in ſo extenſive a degree, at leaſt, in this country, as in the work now ſubmitted, with becoming diffidence, to a candid public.

This curious engraving repreſents, as explained on the plate itſelf, a Perſian monarch in a poſture of adoration before the great objects of ancient Iranian devotion. The image of the aſcending ſoul of the monarch, exhibited on the rock above, is a ſtriking proof of the belief of the ancient Perſians in the immortality of the ſoul, and it appears as if mounting up to that hallowed orb, in which, according to Dr. Hyde, in the ſame book, the Perſians ſuppoſed the throne of the Deity to be fixed. Even if Sir William Jones, in his moſt elaborate reſearches into Oriental antiquity, had not diſcovered to us that intereſting and impor-

tant fact, that a dynasty of Hindoo princes, denominated MAHABADIAN, a title of Sanscreet origin, sate upon the throne of Iran, or Persia, before the accession of Cayumaras, whom the TARIK MIRKHOND, and after that chronicle Sir William himself, in his short History of Persia, formerly asserted to have been the *first* regular monarch of that empire; had not the same indefatigable explorer of Asia told to astonished Europe, that, of the ancient and venerable language of Persia, called the ZEND, "six or seven words in ten were pure Sanscreet;" the similarity of their devotion, in this respect, evidenced in the daily and scrupulous celebration, by the Hindoos, of the HOWM, or burnt sacrifice; in the famous sects of SAURA's and SAGNICA's; and in the numerous AGNIHOTRAS, to this day kept blazing in Hindostan, but more especially at the celebrated city of Benares; more than sufficiently decides, that a most familiar connection, in the earliest periods, has subsisted between the two nations.

If, in consequence of this religious veneration of the Hindoos for the Sun and for Fire, objects which were so early and so universally deified through Asia; if, on the

survey

furvey of thofe innumerable images, human, beftial, and compounded of both natures, which are fculptured in every facred cavern and painted in every pagoda of Hindoftan; I have, more than once, in the courfe of the Theological Differtation, branded her fuperftitious fons with the name of IDOLATERS, let not my meaning be miftaken, nor my words mifreprefented. While I again affert that the *unity of God* is the principle which forms the bafis of the pure, primæval, fublime, theology of BRAHMA, as promulged by the great VYASA, the Plato of India; while I allow that the folar fire is a noble fymbol of that divine, all-vivifying, all-pervading, energy that fupports and animates creation; I may, furely, be permitted to affert that of India which is fo true of all other countries, — that, in every age, there have not been wanting priefts, fufficiently artful and bafe, for venal purpofes, to veil the awful truth from the eye of the multitude.— I may, furely, be allowed to infift upon what the theological hiftory of every nation fatally juftifies, that the Deity is too frequently forgotten in the contemplation of that very fymbol, which was, originally, intended to imprefs upon the devout foul the more im-

mediate ſenſe of his preſence, and that the image itſelf has often received the homage due to the Divinity repreſented. By the word *idolater*, thus uſed, I would be underſtood to mean the offence in its mildeſt ſignification; for he, who worſhips God BEFORE AN IDOL, IS AN IDOLATER. When the Jews, in the deſert, exalted on high the APIS of Egypt, they did not ſuppoſe that ſtatue to be God himſelf, but to be animated by the ſoul of the Deity, and, through it, they addreſſed their prayers to HIM, who, being a ſpirit, muſt neceſſarily be degraded by all ſymbolical repreſentations whatſoever, whether *in the heaven above, in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth.* In this ſenſe then the inferior tribes of Indians are idolaters; they regard, with idolatrous reverence, the Sun and Fire; they repreſent, under a thouſand images, the attributes of God, and they bow down before them. It is my anxious wiſh to ſoften down the phraſe, in ſubmiſſion to Mr. Haſtings, who, near the period of the cloſe of this volume, indulged me with a conference, of which I have only to lament that it did not take place ſooner; a conference, during which, while my honeſt ambition was animated by the approbation of ſo able

able a judge of Hindoo hiſtory and literature, my judgment was improved, and the bounds of my knowledge of the Indian mythology and ſciences enlarged. From that gentleman's obliging and *ready* communication, I learned to entertain more juſt conceptions of the great Triad of Deity, Brahma, Veeſhnu, and Seeva, and the ten Avatars, than any books could impart to me; and by him I was gratified with the ſight of an expreſſive and beautiful print, from which I hope, hereafter, to obtain his permiſſion to have an engraving taken, of a female Indian devotee *proſtrate before the venerated flame.* Recollecting, at the moment, a curious plate, which I had ſeen in Tavernier, of YOGEE penitents under the great banian-tree, of which ſome, *extended on the back*, were, apparently, adoring the Sun, I could not avoid repeating a paſſage from the Heetopades, cited in the ſecond volume of this Diſſertation, and ſo highly elucidatory of the ſubject before us. "The SUN ſhould be *worſhipped* on the back, the GOD OF FIRE upon the belly."

The third plate, alluſive to the Solar Worſhip, is that very ſtriking repreſentation of A SACRIFICE TO THE SUN, ſculptured on a rock in the Thebais, which ſo eminently

both corroborates and illustrates what I have advanced, concerning the probable species of worship anciently celebrated in the sacred caverns of Elephanta and Salsette.— Concerning that valuable fragment of antiquity, so much has been already said in the text, and so accurate a description of it given, from M. Lucas and Mountfaucon, as well as from Savary, ocular witnesses of its existence, as to render any additional remarks upon it, in this place, impertinent and unnecessary.

In presenting my readers with an engraving of the MATSE-AVATAR, or first incarnation of Veeshnu, in a form composed of man and fish, I perform an act of voluntary supererogation, since it is not immediately connected with the subject of this volume, and more properly belongs to the ancient Sanscreet History of India. I have, however, in various places of this volume, so positively asserted the attestation, given in ancient Sanscreet treatises, to the Mosaic doctrine of a general deluge, that it is not wholly irrelevant to the Indian Antiquities, nor will, I trust, be unacceptable to that portion of my subscribers, possibly not a few, on whose account I insert it; those who, discou-

raged

fixed or disgusted with the increasing bulk and expense of this work, may withdraw their names from the future support of it. As it must necessarily appear again in its proper place, among the engravings of the other Avatars, they will be candid enough to consider this spontaneous subjection of myself to unnecessary expense, at once as a mark of my grateful respect for their past patronage, and as a proof that I am not exciting expectations which I want integrity to fulfil or ability to gratify. As the engraving itself is accompanied, in the pages immediately preceding its insertion, with an account of the mythologic figures pourtrayed upon it, and as the whole must be largely commented upon hereafter, it would be trespassing on the time of my readers, at present, to say more on the subject. Those of them, who, during the perusal of this volume, may keep their eye directed toward the parent-country of mankind, will not fail, in the Matse-Avatar, to recognise the OANNES, or Fish-God, of the Babylonians, and the DAGON of the Phœnicians; for of this very form, *half man, half fish*, are both these deities described; the former in Berosus,* the latter in Selden.

* Berosus, apud Eusebii Chronicon, p. 5.

Selden.* Indeed the very etymology of the term Dagon, more generally received among the commentators, forcibly corroborates this hypothesis, which deduces the whole from patriarchal traditions, in future ages mutilated; since, according to Bochart, (for, the radical is disputed,) it is derived from the Hebrew DAG, a word signifying FISH.

After the extensive range taken by me on the subject of ancient caverns and cavern-worship in Asia, especially of those near Bombay, it would have been an unpardonable omission, not to have attempted to oblige the European reader with one glance, however transient and defective, of that of Elephanta, the glory of India and the wonder of Asia. The PERSPECTIVE VIEW of Elephanta, here presented to him, though copied after the best sketch of it extant, is, indeed, of that imperfect kind; but it will serve to exhibit, more clearly than any verbal description could avail, the form and arrangement of the singular columns which adorn that august subterranean temple, the workmanship and magnitude of the grand mythologic bust, and statues of other Indian gods, that is, deified Rajahs; and the general plan, upon

* Selden, De Diis Syriis, syntag. 2, cap. 3.

upon which that ſacred and gloomy receſs has been excavated in the remoteſt periods of antiquity. In imagination, he will naturally be led to wander through thoſe dark winding avenues, and, as he ranges the dreary Verandas, he will, for a moment, be plunged in all the horrors of the terrified aſpirant, deſcribed ſo feelingly by Apuleius and Dion Chryſoſtome, who had themſelves been initiated. There, doubtleſs, the whole ſtupendous drama of the Indian theology was anciently performed and the grand machinery diſplayed, while kings were the actors, and holy Brahmins the admiring ſpectators! There, doubtleſs, the great god and prophet RAM has often fought over again his wonderful battles with the giant Ravan; and Creeſhna has often ſported, as of old, upon the hallowed plains of Mathura. The ancient Sanſcreet hiſtory of India is pourtrayed upon thoſe walls. On a very recent and more accurate contemplation of its ſculptures, finely engraved, a LIGHT, like that which broke in upon the initiated of old, has poured upon me, from amidſt the deep obſcurity of that ſolemn retreat; and the Avatars, deſcending from their ſtations, ſeemed to ſweep before me in all the majeſty of their ancient grandeur.

grandeur. That portentous and terrific figure, holding the terrified infant, which has perplexed all the beholders, which has been miſtaken for the judgment of Solomon, and was, by myſelf, ſo naturally and, I truſt, venially repreſented as the deſtroying Power of India, I am now convinced is no other than the tyrant CANSA, ſovereign of Mathura in the eighth Avatar, thirſting for the blood of the infant Creeſhna, who, it was predicted, (a prediction afterward verified,) would dethrone and deſtroy him: in conſequence of which, he ordered all the male children born at that period to be deſtroyed. He graſps the infant by the thigh, becauſe the enraged Canſa, as ſoon as he was born, ruſhing to the apartment where his ſuppoſed deſtroyer was, according to my author, Sonnerat, ſeized the affrighted babe by the legs, and, whirling it in that poſture through the air, would have daſhed out its brains againſt a ſtone, in the face of its ſuppoſed mother; but that child was a female ſubſtitute, born at the ſame hour with Creeſhna, and exchanged by the command of the divine child himſelf, who, with his very birth, enjoyed the miraculous faculty of ſpeech. By the ſame immortal infant

the

the female changeling was preferved unhurt; for, though at a diftance, the power of Creefhna operated fo far as to enable her to burft from the grafp of the over-thrown tyrant, and tower above him, in the air, a majeftic goddefs *with eight arms*; a circumftance which ought not to excite the ridicule of the reader, fince, as I have elfewhere remarked, the numerous heads and arms, that decorate the ftatues of India, are only fymbols by which a rude nation intended to exprefs their ideas of fuperior wifdom and pre-eminent fortitude.

The event of Creefhna's birth, and the attempt to deftroy him, took place by night, and, therefore, the fhadowy mantle of darknefs, upon which mutilated figures of infants are engraved, (darknefs at once congenial with his crime and the feafon of its perpetration,) involves the tyrant's buft; the ftring of death-heads marks the multitude of infants flain by his favage mandate, and every object in the fculpture illuftrates the events of that Avatar. It is engraving for me with all the accuracy of delineation and fpirit that diftinguifhes the original, and will appear among the Avatars. In this particular figure there is great difplay of genius and great energy

energy of expreſſion; a tolerable engraver, therefore, can ſcarcely fail of executing, from ſuch materials, a ſatisfactory print. I muſt, however, forewarn the reader, that, if, in the plates preſented to him, in a work of this kind, which are neceſſarily taken from voyages, travels, and volumes, ancient themſelves, and alluſive to remote antiquities, he expects to find any very ſuperlative excellence, either in the deſign or the execution, it is ſcarcely poſſible but he muſt be diſappointed. There are few travellers who enjoy the advantage of Sonnerat and Niebuhr, in carrying with them, at the expenſe of royal munificence, able draughtſmen; fewer ſtill, who, like Norden and Le Bruyn, are themſelves accompliſhed artiſts.——Happy would it be for ſcience were the caſe otherwiſe! In general, the precious fragments of antiquity are copied on the ſpot from rude ſculptures on rock, or half-defaced paintings in Eaſtern temples, by travellers little acquainted either with the ſculptor's or the painter's art. In moſt inſtances, too, it is impoſſible for the artiſt to deviate from the exemplar before him, however defective in propriety, and however contrary to the eſtabliſhed rules of his profeſſion. So correct a

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FAC-SIMILE, as may convey a juſt conception of the object intended to be repreſented, is in general the utmoſt that the reader can reaſonably expect. Theſe reflections are indeed leſs immediately applicable to the figures in Elephanta than moſt others in antiquity, ſince they are in general excellently deſigned; and, indeed, many of thoſe figures are ſculptured with ſuch ſpirit and expreſſion as muſt aſtoniſh every ſpectator who conſiders the remote period of their formation; and, if the ſtatues, copied from Egyptian caverns, in Mr. Bruce's Travels, be genuine antiquities, we ſhall not long heſitate in pronouncing both to be the fabrication of the ſame indefatigable race. What wonderous race that was, and from what primæval country they diffuſed themſelves over all Aſia and the greateſt part of Africa, the reader may form ſome conjecture, by peruſing the latter part of the extended proſpectus, which precedes the Theological Diſſertation. Mr. Bryant's hypotheſis, accounting for the great ſimilarity which prevails in the architecture, ſupernal and ſubterraneous, of the two countries, (a ſpecies of architecture which awes us alike with its maſſy ſolidity and its ſtupendous elevation,) is the only one upon which the

the difficulty can be explained. A view of the VESTIBULE of the grand temple of Dendera, the ancient Tentyra, (by miſtake printed Tentara in the engraving,) which is deſcribed by Pococke and others, is given on the ſame plate with the perſpective view of the Elephanta-cavern, as well becauſe, from being half-buried in the ſands, it may, in ſome degree, be ſtyled *ſubterraneous*, as becauſe it diſplays the hieroglyphics and mythologic ſculptures with which the columns and walls of the Egyptian temples were covered. The former are, indeed, too minute to be accurately diſtinguiſhed; but, of the order and the number of them, from that plate, a correct idea may be formed. What muſt the temple itſelf have been, of which ſo magnificent an edifice was only the VESTIBULE?

Connected with the caverns of India are two other ſubjects, concerning which I requeſt the reader's permiſſion ſomewhat more explicitly to deliver my ſentiments. The firſt regards that particular ſpecies of worſhip ſo predominant throughout Hindoſtan, I mean that of the LINGAM, or PHALLUS, of which the diſguſting emblem is ſo conſpicuouſly pourtrayed in all the pagodas and ſacred caverns of India. Every reader, who at all reflects, will

will be fenfible how difficult it muft be to write on fuch a fubject in words that may not offend even the eye of virgin innocence; of which clafs of readers, I truft, a few will honour thefe pages with a perufal. I have been as careful as poffible to felect expreffions that may unfold my meaning without giving offence; and have, on that account, curtailed, even to obfcurity, my remarks on a fubject, of which, taken up in a phyfical and philofophical point of view, the full elucidation would require volumes; and upon which, in fact, not a few volumes have been written. I have, in the following pages, confidered that worfhip merely in a theological light; and, though I am not ignorant of a great deal which has been written, by Sonnerat and others, concerning the purity of morals and intention of the firft devotees of the lingam, in India, and the phallus, in Egypt, yet I cannot avoid thinking, that the lefs faid in praife or vindication of it the better in European countries, where more pure and nobler conceptions of the *great generative and creative power*, that formed the univerfe, happily prevail; where the inhabitants are not lulled in the infenfible *apathy* and divine *abforption* of the pious YOGEES, and where the ebullition

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of licentious paſſion is not ſo effectually curb-ed by viands ſimple and innutritious as the rice and water of the abſtracted and philoſophical race of Brahma. Conſidered in a theological point of view, and writing in a country profeſſing Chriſtianity, I truſt, I have referred ſo indecent a devotion to its true ſource, the turpitude of HAM, whoſe Cuthite progeny introduced it into Hindoſtan, together with other depravities, deſtructive of the pure primæval religion of SHEM, or the principles of the Veeſhnu ſect. Even thoſe, who ſtrenuouſly contend for the unſullied morality of the firſt inſtitutors of the worſhip in queſtion, will, doubtleſs, admit the truth of what I have aſſerted in this part of the work, concerning the adulteration of its original purity, ſo evident in the proſtitution of the *women of the pagoda*, and the indecencies practiſed in the myſterious rites of BACCHUS, and the BONA DEA, at Rome. My object, therefore, is to evince, that the brevity I have obſerved, on a ſubject which, in a Treatiſe upon the Theology of Hindoſtan, might naturally be expected to engroſs a larger portion, has proceeded from choice, not from ignorance of the extenſive and deeply-phyſi-

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cal nature of the ſubject, nor inattention to the prevailing manners of India.

The other ſubject alluded to is that of the Metempſychoſis, concerning which, and the myſterious rites of initiation in thoſe caverns, ſo much has been already obſerved.

It is the opinion of M. Niebuhr, inſerted in his chapter upon ELEPHANTA, that a full examination of the antiquities of this cavern, its form and decorations, would not only throw great light upon the ancient hiſtory of India itſelf, but upon the hiſtory and theologic rites of other Aſiatic nations. With this hope, and with the key ſupplied me by Porphyry and Celſus, to unlock all the theological and philoſophical myſteries anciently celebrated in caverns, I truſt I have contributed ſomewhat towards removing the veil of obſcurity, in which the hiſtory, the rites, and deſign, of that aſtoniſhing excavation has been ſo long involved. That certain myſterious rites *were* there celebrated has been proved, as far as analogy,—in theological ſentiments, and ſimilarity, in the fabrication of the caverns, with thoſe in the mountains of Perſia and Upper Egypt, could tend to eſtabliſh the proof. For, to what purpoſe was there the double entrance into them, by

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN GATES, according to the Homeric deſcription of the cave of the Nymphs, inſerted in the ſubſequent volume, of which, the North entrance was that through which the ſoul, in its journey of the Metempſychoſis, paſſed to the lower ſpheres, while that to the South was ſacred to celeſtials alone; for what purpoſe were intended the winding avenues, the high altars, the tanks for ablution, and the gloomy interior receſſes, but for the regular performance of ſimilar ceremonies, and the arduous exerciſe of kindred virtues. To place, however, the diſputed point beyond all doubt, I have now to inform the reader of the following intelligence. More extenſive inquiry, ſince that portion of my book went to preſs, which aſſerted that ſimilar rites were performed in the Indian caverns, as were anciently celebrated in the myſtic cell of Oſiris, the cave of Mithra, and the temple of Eleuſis, has obtained for me authentic information, that, at this very day, ſomething, very much reſembling the ancient notion and practice of purification in ſacred caverns, continues in vogue among the Hindoos in one of our own ſettlements. In the iſland of Bombay, about two miles from

from the town, riſes a conſiderable hill, called Malabar-Hill, which, ſtretching into the ocean, by its projection, forms a kind of promontory. At the extreme point of this hill, on the deſcent towards the ſea-ſhore, there is a rock, upon the ſurface of which there is a natural crevice which communicates with a cavity opening below, and terminating towards the ſea. "This place," ſays an author, to whoſe printed account of it I was referred for corroborative evidence of its exiſtence, "is uſed by the Gentoos as a purification for their ſins, which, they ſay, is effected by their going in at the opening below, and emerging out of the cavity above. This cavity ſeems too narrow for perſons of any corpulence to ſqueeze through; the ceremony, however, is in ſuch high repute in the neighbouring countries, that there is a tradition, that the famous Conajee Angria ventured, by ſtealth, one night upon the iſland, on purpoſe to perform this ceremony, and got off undiſcovered."*

After the accurate MAP OF ANCIENT INDIA, preſented to the literary world by M.

 D'Anville,

* See Groſe's Voyage to the Eaſt Indies, vol. ii. p. 57, ſecond edition.

D'Anville, in his excellent treatiſe, entitled ANTIQUITÉ GEOGRAPHIQUE DE L'INDE, it would have been preſumptuous and impertinent to have attempted the fabrication of another, I have, therefore, had that map correctly re-engraved, as an unerring guide to the claſſical reader, while he peruſes the accounts from Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny, in the geographical treatiſe, and purſues the rout of Alexander, through what is called the PANJAB of India, or country watered by the five great branches of the Indus; beyond which, eaſtward, the conqueſts of that invader, however magnified by the Greek hiſtorians, did not extend. In the very few alterations I have ventured to make in it, I was guided by Major Rennell's map of Northern India, in the laſt edition of his memoir. The ſituation of the Cathæi, which is not marked in D'Anville's map, except by the ſcite of Sangala, is aſcertained by that of Major Rennell, though I ought, perhaps, again to apologize for perſevering in the mode of ſpelling that name. It was, however, agreeable to an hypotheſis adopted by me, of the propriety of which the reader muſt be the ultimate judge, and perhaps, in conformity to that hypotheſis, I

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ought, at once, to have adopted the orthography of Mr. Bryant, and written the word Cuthæi. I thought it would likewiſe gratify the reader's curioſity to ſee a native Map of Hindostan, and, among a variety offered to me, I have adopted the one which I preſumed was moſt authentic, that in the Ayeen Akbery. It is only partially explained in the Diſſertation; a fuller elucidation of the meaning of the Hindoo geographers will be given in the chapter on the Literature of the Hindoos. Their commerce with Europeans has been the happy occaſion of amending their groſs errors on that ſubject. In the future volumes of this work, two other maps will be preſented to the reader, for the elucidation of the Modern Hiſtory of Hindoſtan: the *former* exhibiting the country properly called by that name; the *latter*, the peninſula, agreeably to the recent partition of the dominions of Tippoo Sultaun among the belligerent powers, under the politic, the moderate, the judicious, management of a noble commander, whoſe diſtinguiſhed magnanimity cannot fail of being blazoned on the page of hiſtory, for pauſing in the full career of glory to check the ardour of dangerous ambition, and re-

membering mercy in the moment of certain victory.

Such are the engravings and maps with which the volumes, now offered to the public, are decorated; and some of those that are now engraving for the volumes, which are immediately to succeed, are still more curious, though possibly they may not be so numerous. I again beg permission to repeat, that it is impossible to separate the ancient mythology and ancient history of any of the great empires of Asia. He, who fastidiously rejects the former, must resign all hope of comprehending the latter. With respect to the history of ancient India, it appears to me to be a species of astronomical mythology; and possibly, when more fully investigated, the testudo of the Egyptian Hermes, and the tortoise in which Veeshnu became incarnate, will both be found to have reference to the sign that slowly winds round the North pole. Mercury and Bhood, another incarnation of Veeshnu, evidently relate to the same planet; for the *dies Mercurii* of the Greeks is undoubtedly the *dies Bhood* of India, and Bhood is the god Woden of the Gothic nations, as is evidenced in the day of Woden, that is, Woden's day, or, as we are accustomed corruptly

corruptly to write and pronounce the word, WEDNESDAY. Engaged neceſſarily, therefore, in theſe more extended inquiries, and involved, conſequently, in great additional expenſes, I find myſelf reluctantly compelled to fix the price of ſubſcription to the Indian Antiquities at TWO guineas inſtead of ONE. I make this alteration with the full concurrence of the major part of my ſubſcribers; I truſt it will meet the approbation of the remainder; and, that thoſe may not be injured, whoſe benevolence to the author, and candid opinion of his undertaking, induced them to ſubſcribe for *two* copies of this work, I ſubmit it to them that they take no more than *one* copy.

I have obſerved before, that, in the courſe of the wide range which I have been compelled to take in the field of Aſiatic mythology, certain topics have ariſen for diſcuſſion, equally delicate and perplexing. Among them, in particular, a ſpecies of TRINITY forms a conſtant and prominent feature in nearly all the ſyſtems of Oriental theology, a doctrine, which, though exceedingly curious, and deeply connected with the old philoſophy of the Eaſt, as it concerns the Pagan world, having been never yet ful-

ly inveſtigated, nor accurate engravings of the Gentile Trinities, in regular ſeries, ever yet preſented to the public, I have ventured, with a trembling ſtep, upon that hazardous taſk. It was not from *choice*, but from *neceſſity*, that I have entered thus largely upon a ſubject, which, from the inceſſant operations of the great Indian Triad of Deity, Brahma, Veeſhnu, and Seeva, in the mythology of Hindoſtan, was intimately blended with others, treated of in theſe introductory volumes. This extenſive and intereſting ſubject engroſſes a conſiderable portion of this work, and my anxiety to prepare the public mind to receive, with indulgence, my efforts to elucidate ſo myſterious a point of theology, induces me to remind the candid reader, that viſible traces of this doctrine are diſcovered, not only in the THREE PRINCIPLES of the Chaldaic Theology; in the TRIPLASIOS MITHRA of Perſia; in the TRIAD, BRÁHMA, VEESHNU, and SEEVA, of India, where it was evidently promulged in the GEETA fifteen hundred years before the birth of Plato; but in the NUMEN TRIPLEX of Japan; in the inſcription upon the famous medal found in the deſerts of Siberia, "to the TRI-

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UNE GOD," to be ſeen at this day in the valuable cabinet of the Empreſs, at Peterſburg; in the TANGA-TANGA, or THREE IN ONE, of the South Americans; and, finally, without mentioning the veſtiges of it in Greece, in the ſymbol of the WING, the GLOBE, and the SERPENT, conſpicuous on moſt of the ancient temples of Upper Egypt. Thus univerſally, and in ſuch remote periods, prevalent in Aſia, and the neighbouring regions, it became abſolutely neceſſary fully to inquire whether ſo fundamental an article of the Chriſtian faith *was* or *was not* known to the ANCIENT JEWS. I truſt, that the fact of its having been known, though obſcurely, in Paleſtine, will be amply proved in the following pages. I likewiſe flatter myſelf, that the production of all the evidence, for its having been actually believed by the ANCIENT JEWS, will be a circumſtance as highly gratifying to the aſſenting Chriſtian as the exhibition of the various ſymbols, by which the Trinity was ſhadowed out among the Pagan nations, will be to the VIRTUOSO and the ANTIQUARY.

Of thoſe who may not be inclined to credit the aſſertion, "that this doctrine *was* obſcurely known in Paleſtine," I beg permiſſion,

miſſion, in a more particular manner, to re-queſt the attention to that very curious emblem, engraved on the plate of the ſymbols of the Hebrew religion in the fourth volume of this work, by which the ancient Jews were accuſtomed to deſignate the ineffable name JEHOVAH, in manuſcripts of the moſt venerable antiquity, for their ſerious reflection.

That ſymbol is a characteriſtical repreſentation of a TRINITY in UNITY; the former repreſented by three JODS, denoting the three hypoſtaſes, or perſons in the divine eſſence; the JOD being the known character of that Jehovah, of whoſe name, in Hebrew, it conſtitutes the firſt ſacred letter; the latter ſhadowed out by the circle that ſurrounds them, as well as by the point Kametz, ſubjoined to the three JODS, which denotes the ESSENTIAL UNITY common to the three hypoſtaſes. The ſymbol itſelf is to be found in the writings of the younger Buxtorf, one of the profoundeſt critics in Hebrew literature that ever flouriſhed out of the pale of the Jewiſh church, whoſe judgment on this point will, hereafter, be inſerted at length; and it is likewiſe preſerved in that curious repoſitory of Oriental antiquities, the Œdipus Ægyptiacus of Athanaſius Kircher. The firſt,

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aſſerts, that, in the ancient Chaldee paraphraſes, kept ſacred from the vulgar, among the Jewiſh doctors, the name Jehovah is thus deſignated; and the ſecond declares, that he himſelf has ſeen that name thus invariably characterized, in all the ancient Hebrew manuſcripts of the Bible, in the Vatican. I thought this information ſo important, that, at my deſire, a learned friend has written to the librarian, at Rome, for correct intelligence relative to the truth of this declaration, and the age of the manuſcripts in which the deſignation appears. The reſult of this inquiry ſhall hereafter be ſubmitted to the conſideration of the reader.

There is likewiſe another ſymbol, of a nature too curious to be unreferred to, by which this doctrine of the Trinity was ſhadowed out among the ancient Egyptians, and which, whoever will examine the plates of Norden and Pococke, will find conſpicuouſly ſculptured on almoſt all the portals of the more ancient temples of the Thebais. It is a figure highly pictureſque and beautiful, compounded of a GLOBE, the juſt emblem of OMNIPOTENT POWER, and, therefore, ſtrikingly deſcriptive of the great FATHER and SOVEREIGN of the univerſe; of a SERPENT, iſſuing

ing from it; that ſerpent, which, being the known emblem of ETERNITY and WISDOM in all the ſyſtems of Aſiatic Mythology, moſt expreſſively typifies the ETERNAL WISDOM, who emaned from the fountain of the paternal godhead; and of a WING, *proceeding* likewiſe from the central orb, by which hieroglyphic, the Egyptians, on all their monuments, deſigned AIR, or SPIRIT, in general; but, more particularly, as I hope, hereafter, indiſputably to evince, that immortal CNEPH, or primordial SPIRIT, whoſe EXPANDED and PROLIFIC wings, brooding over the vaſt abyſs, rendered fertile the inert maſs, while its vivifying breath infuſed the vital principle into the various claſſes of animated nature. This Egyptian ſymbol of their divine triad has been copied for me with great accuracy, and will be found engraved on the ſecond plate of the fourth volume of this work.

This ſubject has been the occaſion of my entering more at large than I had intended, or indeed would otherwiſe have been neceſſary, into the ancient rabbinical theology of the Hebrew doctors, as delivered down to their poſterity in the TARGUMS, the TALMUDS, and other compoſitions of the moſt celebrated cabaliſts of the ancient ſynagogue;

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a line of ſpeculative divinity which, I confeſs, was till lately totally unknown to me, and the inveſtigation of which required no ſmall portion of time and induſtry. The comprehenſive view which I have taken of the ſame ſubject required a more minute and critical examination of the authenticity and antiquity of thoſe Chaldaic oracles, which are attributed to Zoroaſter, than I could find in any previous author, they having been generally given up, by all thoſe who have hitherto treated of them, either as rank forgeries, or as involved in inextricable obſcurity. But, on a more accurate inquiry into the meaning of thoſe abſtruſe oracles, it will appear that they only contain doctrines ſimilar to thoſe that prevailed in the more ancient and obſolete ſyſtems of theology, once prevalent in Aſia; and to many, eſpecially, that about the commencement of the Chriſtian æra were predominant in Perſia and India. Many remarkable traces, indeed, of the ſuperſtition of the old Magi, diſcovered in thoſe oracles, ſtill remain among the Indian Brahmins; particularly thoſe that regard their myſtic Theurgy, their magical incantations, their general belief in the agency of good and evil dæmons, worſhip of fire, fire ordeals, and other ſacredly-obſcure ceremonies, upon which

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I have grounded a defence of the genuineneſs of thoſe oracles. The perpetual recurrence of a SACRED TRIAD OF DEITY, in Aſiatic mythology, (and it is of little conſequence whether that triad conſiſted of PERSONS, QUALITIES, or ATTRIBUTES DEIFIED, ſince they are all corruptions of one grand primæval doctrine,) gradually led me on to the examination of the fragments of ancient theology, aſcribed to the Ægyptian HERMES; of the hymns attributed to ORPHEUS; and of what occurs more peculiarly remarkable relative to a trinity of divine hypoſtaſes, in the writings of Numenius, Parmenides, and Plato.

From various circumſtances above-enumerated in the preceding pages, and the ſpecimen now before him, the reader may poſſibly be enabled to form ſome faint idea of the undertaking for which the exertion of his candour is reſpectfully claimed, and the extenſion of his patronage ardently ſolicited.

For my own part, I have had principally to contend with, and to overcome, the growing magnitude of my ſubject. Having originally, for the ſake of economy, but greatly, as I find, to my own diſadvantage as an author, and materially as I fear to the injury of the engravings, choſen an octavo rather than

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a quarto page for the ushering into the world of this work, I have daily occasion to *feel* and to *lament* that my efforts to elucidate the Indian History are cramped, and that the sphere in which I can only move with prudence and safety is far too circumscribed for an undertaking of such extent.

Overwhelmed with the immensity and variety of the subjects necessarily comprehended in it, I scarcely know how to break down into a compass sufficiently contracted, and into volumes that may not give birth to alarm or disgust, the enormous aggregate of materials already prepared; and which, if committed to press without severe retrenchment, would already fill ten volumes of the size of that now submitted to the public. For, in truth, at a period long antecedent to the year 1790, and previous to any idea of writing Dissertations, or entering into the investigation of remote Sanscreet Annals, that extensive portion of this work, which may be called the regular classical History of Hindostan, and which, commencing with the Persian and Grecian invasions, descends in regular succession down to the extinction of the Western empire, was already completed, though not committed to the press.

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Of the numerous and cruel incursions made by Mahommedan princes into the Upper India, from the Caliph Valid, in the seventh century, traced regularly down through the several series of dynasties of the Sultans of GAZNA, GAUR, and CHARASM, dynasties scarcely heard of in Europe, but highly renowned through all Asia, and deeply connected with Indian History; of the daring exploits in the same country of the immortal Gengis, the subverter of the Charasmian dynasty; and of the fierce and sanguinary, but politic, Timur; as the history of these dynasties is detailed by Mirkhond, Abulfaragius, Abulfeda, Al Makin, and Abulghazi, the Tartar historian, *compared throughout with Ferishta's native history of the country*, and as the feats of those two great Eastern warriors, unrivalled in the number of their armies, or the arduousness of their enterprises, even by the Alexanders and Cæsars of classical antiquity, are given in the authentic volumes of Arabshah, Sheriffedin, and the excellent edition of TIMUR's INSTITUTES, recently published at Oxford, in Arabic and English, by Doctor White and Major Davy; of these, together with the interesting events that occurred during the reign of Baber, who may

may properly be called the FOUNDER OF THE MOGUL MONARCHY IN INDIA, and of his father, Ulug Beg, the great aſtronomer, who equally awed the Deſpots of Aſia in the field by his arms, and delighted her Literati in the ſtudy by his writings; of Ulug Beg, a name to be for ever holden ſacred, while impartial juſtice continues to be the ornament of kings, and ſound philoſophy remains the glory of learned univerſities,* and while both, terminating in an undeſerved and ignominious end, can awaken in mankind the ſigh of commiſeration; of Akber, the annals of whoſe extended reign are the annals of glory itſelf; of the magnificent Jehaun; and the intrepid Aurungzeb; of theſe reſpective characters, illuſtrious in arts and triumphant in arms, circumſtantial and elaborate hiſtories have for ſome time paſt been compoſed by me, with which, and a few elucidatory engravings, the public ſhall be gratified the moment that its decided approbation ſhall appear to ſanction the enormous expenſe of printing them. Happy ſhall I be to return from the dreary and unfruitful wilds of obſcure mythology into the path of regular and connected Hiſtory;

* Among other noble acts, ULUG BEG founded an extenſive college and a noble obſervatory at Samarcand.

tory; and greatly indeed ſhall I think myſelf indebted to the candour of the public, if the inaccuracies and defects of this volume may be overlooked, in the conſideration that objects more important have engaged my attention than thoſe that relate to preciſion of expreſſion and the minutiæ of errors, for the moſt part typographical.

While I again lament that the engravings of this volume, which are for the moſt part on quarto plates, muſt be injured by being folded within the contracted compaſs of an octavo page, I think it neceſſary to acquaint the Patrons of this Undertaking, that a much larger number than is uſual of the *firſt impreſſions* of thoſe plates has been printed off, with a view, at ſome period or another, to gratify the wiſhes of thoſe zealous friends, who are anxious to ſee a quarto edition of a work, which, they are pleaſed to aſſert, merited a more expanded and reſpectable page.—For what concerns myſelf, I confeſs that I want neither honeſt ambition nor proper materials to enlarge this undertaking to any extent that may be neceſſary to the *complete* elucidation of the intereſting objects concerning which it treats. Printing, however, at my own peril and expenſe, I freely acknowledge,

that,

that, with the comparatively ſmall ſupport which I have hitherto experienced, I have felt the publication of it upon an octavo page ſufficiently oppreſſive, without at preſent engaging in a more coſtly edition. If, however, a ſociety of gentlemen, or even of liberal bookſellers, ſhould think the plan of a larger edition warrantable, no intereſted motives on my part ſhall obſtruct the accompliſhment of their wiſhes; but, on the contrary, every exertion in my power ſhall be afforded to render ſuch a work more worthy the public eye than it can be in its preſent garb; and ſome very curious additional ſketches, taken as well from the book of nature as from volumes of great coſt and rarity, elucidatory of Indian Antiquities, and originally ſelected by me for the illuſtration of theſe pages, but ſince laid by, as too large in the deſign for inſertion in an octavo volume, and too expenſive in the execution for a work of this price, ſhall be cheerfully reſigned for the decoration of it. I truſt that the ſordid principles that ſometimes diſgrace authorſhip are unknown to my mind. I write from nobler motives than the deſire of baſe emolument; but my ſituation will not allow me to be inſenſible to the dictates of

prudence and the admonitions of friendly anxiety for my intereſt.

Leſt, after all, the reader ſhould think that I am induced by mercenary motives to make this increaſe in the price of my book, it becomes neceſſary that I ſhould inform him of the *undiſguiſed* and, to myſelf, *alarming* truth, that, from not being the moſt accurate of calculators, I had myſelf formed but very inadequate conceptions concerning the total expenſes that would be incurred by ſuch a work; that, when he ſhall pay the amount of this book, as fixed above, he will ſcarcely lay down the value of the maps and engravings that illuſtrate it; and that, from the ſale of ſingle volumes only, unleſs the work collectively ſhould meet with the good fortune to have an extenſive ſale, no poſſible compenſation will ariſe to the author for many hours of literary toil conſumed by the midnight lamp; for very conſiderable property expended upon the completion of it; and health *deeply*, if not *irretrievably*, injured.

DISSERTATION I.

THE

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

OF

HINDOSTAN.

I 3

CHAP. I.

Of the ancient Geographical Divisions of INDIA, *according to the Classical Writers of* GREECE *and* ROME.

THE science of GEOMETRY is thought to have been the invention of the ancient Egyptians, and the occasion of it the annual inundations of the Nile. A similar argument may be urged with far greater plausibility in favour of its having originated in INDIA, since many parts of that extensive region are annually overflowed, not only by the Ganges, but by many other considerable rivers far more rapid and desolating than the river of Egypt. It was a custom of very ancient date, and of almost universal prevalence in Asia, for great monarchs and commanders of armies to carry in their train certain persons, whose office it was to measure the roads and describe the provinces through which they passed. These itineraries proved

afterwards of the utmoſt importance to the geographer and the hiſtorian; and hence Abul Fazil, the ſecretary of Sultan Akber, was enabled to give ſo accurate an account as he has afforded us of the geography of the Indian Subahs, in the celebrated book which bears the name of that emperor. The old Indians themſelves ſeem to have been more than uſually attentive to geographical accuracy; for, according to Strabo, they erected columns, inſcribed with directions for travellers, and marked with the diſtances of the ſeveral cities one from the other.* But, however well the Indians might have been acquainted with the geography of their own country, it will preſently appear that they were miſerably deficient in the knowledge of that of the other parts of the terreſtrial globe, as indeed will be ſufficiently evident to the reader, from a ſlight inſpection of the curious Hindoo map of the world, preſented to him in the courſe of this Geographical Diſſertation. I ſhall devote the preſent chapter to the conſideration of the Indian Geography, according to the Greek and Roman writers. In the ſecond chapter I ſhall endeavour to relieve the neceſſary dryneſs, which always attends

* Strabonis Geographia, lib. xv. p. 661.

attends geographical details, by diſplaying, from authentic writers, the aſtoniſhing extent and unequalled magnificence of the ſucceſſive capitals of India, under the Hindoo, Perſian, and Tartar, princes; and, in the third, from Sir W. Jones's elegant little treatiſe, prefixed to his Deſcription of Aſia, and from the Ayeen Akbery, I ſhall exhibit the ſentiments, on this ſubject, of the Perſian, Arabian, and Indian, geographers. My guide, throughout the whole ſurvey, will be the works of thoſe celebrated modern geographers, Mr. D'Anville and Major Rennel.

INDIA was a term applied with the greateſt latitude by the ancient writers of Greece and Rome, whoſe ideas of the geographical diviſions of this portion of the globe were exceedingly confuſed and inaccurate. Not only a conſiderable part of Scythia, by the denomination of Indo-Scythia, was comprehended under that title, but the appellation was extended to countries ſtill more remote and unconnected; even to Ethiopia Propria, and the diſtant nations of the torrid zone. This circumſtance will appear leſs ſurpriſing, when it is conſidered, that, in the early ages, the Red Sea itſelf was frequently included under the general title of the Indian Sea, to which

it

it is ſo near a neighbour, and of which Pliny* affirms it, as well as the Perſian Gulph, to be a branch; † that all thoſe countries, extending on each ſide of the Red Sea, were called indifferently India or Ethiopia; that even at this day the Aſiatics in general underſtand the term INDIA with conſiderable licenſe of meaning; and that the Perſians in particular give the name of Siah Hindou to an Abaſſine, or modern Ethiopian.

In fact, ſo little did the ancients know of their limits and diviſions, that both India and Ethiopia were uſed as general terms to ſignify any remote uncivilized country: and in this ſenſe Virgil is to be underſtood in the ſixth Æneid,‡ where Æneas, in the ſhades, is informed

* Plinii Nat. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 24.

† On the other hand, both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus give the name of Red Sea to the Oceanus Indicus. See Herodotus, lib. ii. p. 102, and Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 41.

Curtius remarks, that the river Ganges emptied itſelf into the *Red Sea*, but is ſtrangely miſtaken when, in the next ſentence, he makes the Aceſines diſcharge its waters into the Ganges. The following paſſage is illuſtrative of what has been ſaid above: "*Mare certe*, quo India abluitur, *ne colore quidem abhorret a ceteris. Ab Erythra rege inditum eſt nomen: propter quod ignari*, rubere *aquas, credunt*." Quintus Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 9.

‡ Æneid. vi. l. 794.

informed of the future glory of Auguſtus, and that

——— Super et Garamantes et Indos
Proferet imperium ———

And again, in the eighth Eclogue,* a ſimilar notion is expreſſed:

Iſmarus aut Rhodope aut extremi Garamantes:†

Where Servius, his commentator, explains the word "*extremi*," by adding, "*quaſi a conſortio communitatis remoti.*" Horace too, under the impreſſion of the ſame ſentiments, calls the Indians "*extremos*" and "*haud ante domabiles.*" Many other paſſages might be adduced, if neceſſary, from various authors, to prove what obſcure and erroneous conceptions prevailed among the ancients concerning India and its inhabitants.

It was not until the expedition of Alexander, deſcribed with ſuch accuracy by Arrian, and with ſuch elegance by the more ornamental pen of Quintus Curtius, that this remote region became more particularly known to the Greeks. Of how little genuine information upon this point, even they were previouſly in poſſeſſion, is evident from the groſs

* Eclogue viii. l. 44.

† The Garamantes were a barbarous nation, ſituate on the confines of Ethiopia Propria.

groſs miſtake into which that prince, who was by no means an inattentive obſerver of nature, nor unaccompanied, we muſt ſuppoſe, by men of ſcience in his Indian incurſion, unaccountably fell, in imagining, on his arrival at the Indus, that he had diſcovered the ſources of the Nile.* That mighty river, he ſuppoſed, after rolling through immenſe unexplored deſerts, poured, by ſome unknown tract, its rapid ſtream into Ethiopia, where it loſt the name of Indus, and aſſumed the appellation of the Egyptian river. He was confirmed in this ſtrange conjecture by the appearance, ſays Arrian, of crocodiles in the ſtream of the Indus, and of beans growing on its banks, ſimilar to thoſe which grew on the ſhore of the Nile, as well as by the recollection that Homer had called the Nile Ægyptus, on its entering Ægypt; a circumſtance which ſeemed to prove that it acquired, in its progreſs, the name of the various countries through which it paſſed. Experience, diligently ſought and finally obtained, after

* Προτερον μεν γε εν τῳ Ινδῳ ποταμῳ κροκοδειλους ιδων, μονῳ των αλλων ποταμων πλην Νειλου, προς δε ταις οχθαις του Ακεσινου κυαμους πεφυκοτας, οποιους ἡ γη εκφερει ἡ Αιγυπτια, και ακουσας οτι ὁ Ακεσινης εμβαλλει εις τον Ινδον ποταμον, εδοξεν εξευρηκεναι του Νειλου τας αρχας. Arrian, lib. vi. cap. I.

after a long ſeries of peril and difficulty, taught the Macedonian invader, as far at leaſt as his army penetrated, a truer notion of the geography of India.

The natural and ardent avidity of mankind, after whatever delights by its novelty or aſtoniſhes by its ſingularity, induced, however, many of thoſe who ſought for glory in an Indian campaign, in ſome inſtances to liſten with too ready an ear to the exaggerated tales which national bigotry reported; while the deſire of human diſtinction urged them to multiply thoſe fictions, in order to excite more forcibly the attention and ſecure more permanently the admiration of their countrymen. Strabo, who was a writer equally learned and judicious, ſeverely cenſures * both Megaſthenes and Oneſicritus, two officers of high repute for literature, and of exalted ſtation in the army of Alexander, for the abſurd and incredible ſtories they propagated concerning the Indian country and people. At the ſame time he gives us himſelf, in the fifteenth book of his invaluable treatiſe of Ancient Geography, the moſt authentic and faithful accounts at that time known of the diviſions and ſubdiviſions of India, interſperſed

* Strabo, lib. ii. p. 65.

ſperſed with many ſublime moral reflections and entertaining hiſtorical relations; which demonſtrate him not only the man of taſte and erudition, but the profound philoſopher. Indeed, nobody could poſſibly write on that ſubject with a better grace or more indubitable information than himſelf, as he had added practice to theory, and had travelled over half the countries which his inſtructive volumes deſcribe. After this particular mention of Strabo, it would be unjuſt not to take as particular notice of Ptolemy, the greateſt mathematician and aſtronomer of his age, whoſe geographical hiſtory and tables muſt ever continue to be of the moſt important uſe to thoſe who tread that barren path of antiquity. Born in the neighbouring kingdom of Egypt, he had every opportunity of exploring, he is therefore entitled to every credit in elucidating, the ſubject of which we now treat; and accordingly both Ptolemy and Strabo are conſtantly conſulted as the moſt certain guides in illuſtrating the geography of ancient countries.

The rich and extenſive region of India, according to theſe * and other reſpectable geographers of antiquity, was divided by the river

* Ptolemæi Geogr. lib. vii. Strabonis Geogr. lib. xv.

river Ganges into two grand portions, which they denominated India intra Gangem and India extra Gangem; a mode of division that still very generally prevails. Of India intra Gangem, the principal theatre of the events recorded in these pages, Nature herself seems to have fixed the eternal boundaries; for, on the west, it is terminated by the great and rapid river Indus;* on the north and north-west, by that stupendous chain of mountains to which the ancients gave the general name of Caucasus;† on the east, by the sacred waters of the Ganges; and, on the south, it is embraced by the Mare Erythræum, or Indian Ocean. It must however be observed, that the accurate Ptolemy does not absolutely assert the Indus to be the boundary of India Propria on the west; for he assigns, as its confines on that side, the territory of the Paropamisadæ (the Afghans of the present day); the province of Arachosia, the modern Zablestan; and that of Gedrosia, at present denominated

* That is, by its most westerly branch.

† The different regions of this vast chain were distinguished by the particular names of Paropamisus, Taurus, Emodus, and Imaus. Thus Pliny: "*Junguntur inter se Imaus, Emodus, Paropamisus, Caucasus, a quibus tota decurrit India in planitiem immensam et Ægypto similem.*" Plinius, lib. vi. cap. 17.

denominated Mocran. The reaſon and propriety of Ptolemy's fixing theſe provinces rather than the Indus as its weſtern termination will be hereafter more clearly evinced, by a quotation from an author in elegance and accuracy not inferior to himſelf, when we come to conſider Hindoſtan according to the diviſions of the Orientals themſelves. Theſe provinces, indeed, ſeem to be conſidered by Pliny * rather as a part of the Indian than the Perſian empire; to which he adds that of Aria, whoſe capital is the modern Herat: for this, however, he is condemned by Cellarius, who obſerves,† "*Quod de quatuor præfecturis Plinius dicit, videtur nimis lata terminorum extenſio.*"

Of the cities lying on the weſtern confines of India Propria, the moſt eminent (for, I ſhall confine myſelf, in this geographical ſketch, to the conſideration of thoſe only which were diſtinguiſhed by their opulence and power) was Taxila, ſituated on the eaſtern bank of the Indus, on the ſite, as it is ſuppoſed, where the caſtle and city of Attock now ſtands. This was the flouriſhing capital of Taxiles, an Indian prince, or rajah, who,

* Plinius, lib. vi. cap. 20.

† Cellarii Geographia Antiqua, lib. iii. cap. 23.

who, on the approach of Alexander, convinced, perhaps, that all oppoſition to ſo formidable a power would be in vain, went forth with conſiderable preſents to appeaſe and join the invader. Taxila is deſcribed by Strabo* as the metropolis of a kingdom ſituated between the Indus and Hydaſpes, in extent as large as Egypt, well planted, and exceedingly fruitful. The city itſelf was not leſs diſtinguiſhed by the elegance of its ſtructure than by the wiſdom of thoſe juſt political inſtitutions by which it was governed. Taxiles, like Porus, ſeems to have been rather a name common to a race of kings, than the peculiar appellation of one ſovereign. The reigning prince of that name was the determined enemy of Porus; and it was chiefly by means of the information he received from this traitor, that Alexander was enabled to proſecute his hoſtile deſign upon that remote country.

As it will be of material importance towards rightly underſtanding that portion of the Indian hiſtory which records the circumſtances of Alexander's celebrated invaſicn, to have a clear idea of its geography, we ſhall in this place, aſſiſted by the Memoir of Major Rennel on the ſubject, endeavour to trace the progreſs

 of

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 480.

of that conqueror through the region to which the natives themſelves have allotted the name of Panjab, or the country of five rivers, from its being interſected by the five eaſtern branches of the Indus. By our conſtantly giving, when we have any tolerable authority to guide us, the modern together with the ancient appellation of any place, readers of every claſs will naturally be more intereſted in the narrative; and the expedition of Alexander will, in ſome degree, be cleared from that gloom of myſtery and fable in which it hath been ſo long and ſo deeply involved.

From Taxila, which Mr. Rennel with great probability ſuppoſes to ſtand on the ſite of the preſent Attock, becauſe it appears to have been in all ages the paſs on the Indus leading from Cabul and Candahar into India, and becauſe (he adds, in the words of Fraſer) "Attock is the only place where, from the ſtream being leſs rapid, an army can conveniently paſs;"— from that celebrated capital, where he refreſhed himſelf and his army for ſome days, the Macedonian conqueror advanced to the bank of the Hydaſpes, the moſt weſterly of the five rivers, called in modern language the Behut, or Chelum, but in the Ayeen Akbery* diſtinguiſhed by

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 232.

by a name ſomewhat ſimilar in ſound to its claſſical appellation, the Beduſta. It is rather remarkable, that Ptolemy's mode of writing the word comes ſtill nearer to that of the Ayeen Akbery; on which paſſage Cellarius remarks, "*Prave Bedaſpen adpellav t Ptolemæus:*" but, with great deference to the opinion of the learned, from the high corroborating authority of the Ayeen Akbery, I contend that Ptolemy's may be the true reading. The Hydaſpes is repreſented as a noble river, which, taking its riſe in the Indian Caucaſus, mingles its waters with thoſe of the Aceſines, and at length, together with that river, rolls into the Indus at Multan. It ſeems to have been the boundary between the kingdom of Taxiles and that moſt formidable of Indian warriors, the renowned Porus.

Concerning Porus himſelf, and the extent of his dominions, many diſcordant and very unſatisfactory accounts have been given both by ancient and modern writers. The ſubject will more properly come under our conſideration hereafter; and therefore it will be ſufficient in this place to inſert a remark of Sir W. Jones,* that his capital was moſt probably Lahor, or Lawhore, the preſent metropolis of Panjab,

 whoſe

* Short Deſcription of Aſia, prefixed to Nadir Shah.

whoſe name is often applied to the province itſelf. Lahore, or Lehawer, as it is ſaid in the Ayeen Akbery to have been called in ancient aſtronomical tables, was undoubtedly in ancient times a very conſiderable kingdom, and no other city in its neighbourhood ſeems of conſequence enough to have been the capital of ſo celebrated a prince as Porus. With the greateſt deference, however, to the high authority juſt mentioned, I muſt remark, that the kingdom of Porus is expreſſly affirmed by Strabo* to be the country " between the Hydaſpes and the Aceſines; extenſive, opulent, and containing near three hundred towns." Concerning theſe, however, Cellarius remarks,† that many of them might have been mere villages. Lahore is ſituated on the Hydraotes, or Rauvee.

Amidſt a violent ſtorm of hail and lightning, which concealed his army, and which may in ſome degree account for the traditionary ſtory, mentioned by Mr. Hamilton,‡ that he was a great magician; Alexander, in ſpite of the army

* Μεταξυ δε του Υδασπου και του Ακεσινου, ητε του Πωρου εςι γη πολλη και αγαθη, σχεδον τι και περι τριακοσιων πολεων. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 663.

† Cellarii Geog. Ant. tom. ſecund. p. 529.

‡ See Hamilton's Voyage to the Eaſt Indies, vol. i. p. 128.

army of Porus, drawn up on the oppoſite ſhore, paſſed the Hydaſpes, according to Mr. Rennel's ſuppoſition, at the place where the fortreſs of Rotas now ſtands; and, after defeating that prince in a regular engagement, advanced to the banks of the ſecond river of the Panjab, called by the ancients the Aceſines, but known to the preſent Indians by the name of Jenaub. This branch of the Indus is repreſented by Arrian* as exceedingly broad, deep, rapid, and abounding with rocks, which ſubjected both the invader and his army to the moſt imminent danger. On the ſpot where he defeated Porus, he erected a city in memory of the victory, which he called Nicæa; and another he denominated Bucephala, in honour of his favourite horſe Bucephalus, who died in this expedition of extreme old age, according to Arrian, being on the verge of thirty. The former of theſe cities, we are informed by Ptolemy, was ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore of the Hydaſpes; the latter near the weſtern bank, on the ſite where his camp ſtood. No more particular notice is taken of Nicæa by the ancients than what is related above; nor can I find a town in the map of modern India correſponding with it in ſituation. Lahore has indeed been ſup-

K 3 poſed

* Arriani, lib. v. p. 222, editio Gronovii.

posed by some writers to be the ancient Bucephala; and Bernier, when he was at that city, made some inquiry into the truth of that supposition, but remarks, that, " though Alexander is sufficiently known there under the name of Sekander Filifous, that is, Alexander, son of Philip; as to his horse, they know it not."*

Having arrived, with some loss, on the eastern bank of the Acesines, or Jenaub, Alexander, impatient to reach the Ganges, pressed on with rapidity towards the third river, called by Strabo the Hyarotes, by Arrian the Hydraotes, and by Ptolemy the Rhuadis, or Adris. In the Ayeen Akbery,† however, it is called the Iyrawuttee, which bears a striking resemblance to Hyarotes; but Rhuadis seems to be most consonant to its present name, which is that of Rauvee. The Memoir supposes him to have passed the Rauvee, on the spot where Lahore now stands. Being arrived in the territory of the Adraistæ, and having compelled Pimprama, their capital, to capitulate, Alexander found a new and most formidable foe to encounter in the united forces of the Cathæi, the Malli, and the Oxydracæ. The city which their combined army attempted to defend against the

* See Bernier's third letter in his Journey to Cashmire.

† Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 131.

the veteran Greeks was called Sangala, which Mr. Rennel thinks was ſituated between Lahore and Multan, and conſiderably out of the direct route to the Ganges. It is but in very few inſtances that we are able to trace any remote ſimilitude between the ancient and modern names of a country and people ſo little known to the ancients as thoſe of India. The voluntary migration of ſome nations to happier climes and wealthier regions, the neceſſary diſperſion of others by invaſion and conqueſt, the fluctuation to which languages are ſubject, the alteration of the beds of rivers, and many other natural and accidental cauſes, concur to render every attempt of this kind moſt uncertain and precarious. Although the exact ſite of Sangala cannot now be aſcertained, it may not be improper to remark, that Mr. Hamilton mentions, among the nations inhabiting to the ſouth of the mouths of the Indus, a fierce race of naval robbers, called Sanganians, from Sangania, a province of Guzzerat; and the ſame tract, at the period of the voyage of Nearchus, was poſſeſſed by a people called Sangadians.

Of the Cathæi, the Oxydracæ, and the Malli, ſince they are ſaid to have been the moſt powerful and warlike nations of India, it is neceſſary to give an account ſomewhat more

particular, however imperfect and unsatisfactory. Kathai, or Kathay, the eastern appellation of China, being a word of Tartar extraction, and in use, as may be proved from Curtius and Strabo, among the Asiatic Scythians in the time of Alexander, has afforded opportunity of conjecture that the Tartars had even at the time of this expedition extended their frontiers on that side as far as the Hyphasis, or Setledge, in whose neighbourhood the ancients have fixed the residence of the Cathæi, and thus had already in some degree laid the basis of their future consequence and grandeur in Hindostan. This early connection between the northern Indians and their Tartar neighbours is rendered probable, by the consideration that in some instances the languages of the two nations are not dissimilar, since many words occur in each language which have a kindred orthography and signification. Indeed Mr. Hadley,* in his Grammar of the Hindostan Language, seems to hint the possibility of its being originally derived from their Tartar invaders; and gives a remarkable instance of that similarity in the name of the most celebrated conqueror of India, whose descendants for three hundred years swayed the imperial sceptre: "The

* See Hadley's Grammar, p. 13.

" The signification of Tamerlane (properly Timur Lung) is Lame Timur; and the word used to express Lame, in Hindostan, at this day, is Lungrau." Of this origin probably were the Cathæi, whose manly and intrepid fortitude, displayed in the defence of Sangala, seems to justify their descent from so bold and hardy a race.*

The Oxydracæ seem to have been situated at the confluence of the Hydraotes and the Acesines, that is, the Rauvee and Jenaub, in a direction south-west of the Cathæi; and it is possible, observes the Memoir, that the present city of Outch, or Atcha, might be the capital of that martial race. Mr. R. is of opinion that Alexander never penetrated into their domain, but only passed its limits on the coast. He has marked, near the banks of the Hydraotes, the probable situation of that city, in the furious escalade of whose walls the hero who had been flattered in Persia with the honours of deity, for the second time, in this Indian campaign, found himself to be a mortal. The city of Outch

* It must not be forgotten, that the Cathæi are called, in some ancient authors who have treated of Indian affairs, Cuthei, which rather tends to corroborate than invalidate this conjecture; for, hence the word Scuthe or Scythe has by some learned etymologists been deduced.

Outch is at present included in the province of Multan.

Of the Malli and their situation we are enabled, from a combination of local circumstances that point out their residence, to speak with greater certainty; for they inhabited a region still more to the south-west, near the shore of the main stream of the Indus; "and their capital," says Mr. Rennel, "was doubtless Multan." It may be proper, however, in this place, to note, that the Dutch traveller, Nieuhoff, mentions a hardy and warlike nation, called Malleans, whose residence is on the tops of the high mountains of Malabar, and whom he supposes to be the same people with the Malli mentioned by Plutarch and Curtius. He describes them as differing from the Malabars in their complexion, religion, and manners, and superior to them in bravery, ingenuity, and honesty. Their principal amusement is hunting amidst the thick forests where they reside, and where they catch in pits the elephant and tiger: they are governed by laws peculiar to themselves, are scattered through several districts in bodies of about five or six thousand people, and each district has its separate judge or captain. Malleam, their country, is situated on the mountains of Balagaut, about 150 miles

north

north of Cape Comorin, and appears in the new map of Hindoſtan about the latitude of 10° 40′.

Having taken Sangala, and, urged by a ſpirit of revenge for its reſolute reſiſtance unworthy ſo great a conqueror, having afterwards raſed it to the ground, Alexander returned, and, purſuing his progreſs towards the Ganges, arrived at the fifth branch of the Indus, and moſt eaſterly river of India, which he paſſed in this expedition, called by Pliny the Hypanis, by Arrian and Curtius the Hyphaſis, and by Ptolemy the Zaradrus. The name of Zaradrus alone bears any reſemblance to its modern appellation, which is that of Suttuluz, or Setledge. In the Ayeen * Akbery it is ſaid anciently to have been called Shetooder. On the eaſtern bank of that river the adventurous Macedonian pauſed, not from any latent conviction of the impracticability of his ambitious project, but in conſtrained obedience to the united voice of his army, who refuſed to follow him over that dreary deſert of twelve days journey which ſtill lay between them and the Ganges, and to engage in unequal conteſt with the innumerable armies, which, they were informed, the powerful and warlike nations that dwelt on its banks were able to pour into the field. The reader,

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 134.

reader, by looking into the map adapted to the geography of Ptolemy, will obſerve, that the Zaradrus is formed by the confluence of two rivers. To the weſtern ſtream Ptolemy himſelf gives the name of Bipaſis. And here again we find a conſiderable reſemblance between Ptolemy and the Ayeen Akbery;* for the Bipaſis is called in the Ayeen Akbery Beypaſſa, although Cellarius again obſerves: "*Ptolemæus vitioſe Bipaſis pro Hypaſis legit.*" It is to the eaſtern current, and the main ſtream after this confluence, that he applies the appellation of Zaradrus. Conſonant to this is the remark of the Memoir, which I ſhall take the liberty to tranſcribe in the author's own words. "The fourth river of the Panjab is the Beyah; and the fifth is the Setlege, or Suttulus. The two rivers unite about mid-way between their ſprings and their junction with the Indus, and their mixed waters properly bear the name of Setlege. The Setlege, thus formed by the joint waters of the two rivers, is the Hyphaſis of Alexander, and is a very conſiderable river, being navigable two hundred miles above its conflux with the Indus. It paſſes from the ſouth of, and not far from, the city of Multan; and, about eighty miles below it, falls into

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 254.

into the Indus." From the circumſtance of the deſert's being between Alexander and the Ganges, which is really the caſe between the lower parts of the Setledge and that river, (whereas the ſpace between it and the Beah is fertile and well-inhabited,) Mr. R. ſuppoſes the Macedonian encampment to have been between Adjodin, the ancient Ardône, and Debalpour, marked in the map of Ptolemy Dædalla. There he erected thoſe enormous altars, threw up thoſe ſtupendous mounds, and fabricated thoſe gigantic pieces of armour, by which, ſays Diodorus, he meant at once to amuſe and to deceive poſterity.

Had the army of Alexander purſued their march towards the banks of the Ganges, in a few days they would have arrived at another conſiderable river of India Propria, called by Pliny the Jomanes, and in modern language the Jumna, upon which the city of Delhi ſtands. In the Ayeen Akbery the Jomanes is called the Jown. Delhi was, at the period of this invaſion, a place of little importance, having been but newly founded, according to Feriſhta, by Delu the uſurper of the throne of Hindoſtan, and uncle of the Foor or Porus, who oppoſed the forces of Alexander. The vaſt city of Canouge, or Kinoje, was at that time,

time, and had been for many successive centuries, the imperial residence of its monarchs; and hardly any fact SEEMED to admit of stronger evidence, than that which Mr. R. in the first edition of his Memoir, has laboured to establish — that the famous Palibothra of the ancients is not Halabas, or Allahabad, as D'Anville and almost all modern geographers have agreed, but this very ancient capital of Canouge. Late inquiries, however, made on the spot, evince that Palibothra stood on or very near the site of the present Patna, and was known to the natives by the name of Pataliputra. Between the Indus and the Hydaspes Pliny reckons 120 miles, Mr. R. 135; between the Hydaspes and Hyphasis Pliny reckons 390 miles, Mr. R. 350; between the Hyphasis (that is, the part below the conflux of the Beah, where Alexander erected his altars) and the Jomanes is 336 miles, according to Mr. R. and thence to the Ganges 112 miles.

The Ayeen Akbery having given the reverse of the distances between the five rivers of the Panjab, by the measurement of the Indian cose, I shall conclude this account of its rivers with an extract from that book:* "From the Sutteluz to the Beah the distance is 50 cose; from the Beah to the Rauvee 17 cose; from the

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 132.

the Rauvee to the Jenaub 30 cose; from the Jenaub to the Behut 20 cose; from the Behut to the Sind 68 cose." The cose is about two English miles.

Returning, after this considerable digression, to the banks of the Indus, as we descend southward along the eastern shore, the map of ancient geography exhibits to our view the country of the Brachmanes, whose patriotic exertions, in favour of their invaded country, drew down upon them the severe vengeance of the Macedonian tyrant; the kingdom of the Sabracæ, a powerful republic according to Curtius; of the Sogdii, in whose country he built another city, which he called Alexandria; of the Musicani, whose king, revolting after submission, he ordered to be crucified; of the Præsti, whose more-determined sovereign, Oxycanus, died bravely fighting for his country; the rich empire of Sabus, whose capital of Sindomana opened its gates without opposition to receive the triumphant conqueror; and, finally, the noble island of Pattala, the present Tatta, where he constructed docks, and refitted his fleet, for a still more daring expedition.

Of places on the modern map, corresponding in situation with that of the people and regions above-mentioned, Mr. R. only particularizes

cularizes Bhakor, which, he obſerves, anſwers to the poſition and deſcription of the country of the Muſicani; and Hajacan, now a circar or diviſion of Sindy, which he conjectures to have been the territory of Oxycanus: he ſubjoins, that in Sindomana we may recognize the country of Sindy itſelf, or at leaſt that portion of it through which the river Sinde, the domeſtic appellation of the Indus, flows in the latter part of its courſe.

Southward of the mouths of the Indus we find the Canthi Sinus; that is, the Gulph of Sindy, or Cutch; and the great maritime city and port of Barygaza, which likewiſe gave its name to the neighbouring gulph, now called Cambay. Barygaza may be the modern Bargant, or probably Baroach, a city ſtanding on the banks of the river Nerbuddah, the Nomadus of Ptolemy. To this emporium all the riches of the peninſula were anciently brought, through the Balagaut mountains, from the rich and celebrated cities of Tagara and Pluthana, the Deoghir and Pultanah of the moderns.* On the Sinus Barygazenus ſtood Supara, probably Chitpore, which Cellarius ſays has been taken for the Ophir of Scripture, though others, among whom is Joſephus, ſuppoſe

* See Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. i. p. 371.

pose it to have been the Aurea Chersonesus, because abounding with all the commodities which Solomon received from Ophir. Farther southward is Simyllæ Emporium, corresponding in situation to Swalley, on the river Tapti; the ancient Binda. To the south of the Simyllæ Promontorium, among many obscure cities, we may notice Tyndis, which Mr. R. supposes to have stood on the site of Goa; Calecaris, the modern Calicut; Balepatna, probably Balipatan; and Byzantium and Muziris, two considerable marts of India, but greatly infested by pirates, as indeed the neighbourhood is at this day. Muziris, Mr. R. inclines to think, is the modern Merjee or Meerzaw; Nitrias, the seat of those pirates, the present Newtya; and Barace, Barcelore. Below the river Baris were situated Elancon emporium and Cottiora metropolis; at the extreme southern point, the town and promontory of Comar, which answers to Cape Comorin; and to the south-east of that cape the great island of Tiprobana or Ceyloan.

Having passed round the Comarian promontory, called by the Indians Gebal Kamarum, the map of Ptolemy presents to our view the Sinus Colchicus, which is separated from the Sinus Agaricus (so called from

Colchi and Argari, two cities of commercial eminence on the coast) by the promontory of Cory, or Colis, and near it stands the insula Cory, now called Ramankoil, or the temple of Rama. The famous ridge of rocks extending from this island to Manar, on the island of Ceyloan, called Adam's Bridge, Sir W. Jones contends should be entitled Rama's Bridge;* and the present name of this promontory and island strengthens his remark. Madura Regia Pandionis must doubtless mean the Madura of modern maps; Nigamma metropolis answers to Nega-patan; Chaberi Ostia and Chaberi Emporium indisputably point out the port of the river Caveri and city of Caveri-patan; Melange, or rather Maliarpha Emporium, not far distant upon the coast, seems to be Meliapour, or Malliapore, as Hamilton writes it; Puduce, Pullicat; and Sobura, Soopour. Entering the great Sinus Gangeticus, or Gulph of Bengal, we find Cotto-bara, perhaps Devi-cotta, or Cotta-patan; and Sippora, plainly Narsipoor, Mesolia marks the district of Masulipatan; Cocola is undoubtedly Cicacole; and Cosamba answers in situation to Balasore. Near the mouths of the Ganges were seated the

Calingæ.

* See Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 257.

Calingæ. A city denominated Calingipatam is marked on Mr. R.'s map; and it is not impossible that the once-impregnable fortress of Callinger, in the Soobah of Allahabad, of so great antiquity, that the Ayeen Akbery says,* "no one can tell by whom it was founded," might have owed to them its name and existence.

The Ganga Regia of Ptolemy, Mr. R. informs us, has been supposed to be Gour or Lucknowti, whose extensive and stupendous ruins seem to justify the assertion; and higher up on the main stream of the Ganges the two most potent nations of India, the Gangarides and the Prasii, or, as Ptolemy calls them, Prasiatæ, had their residence. Athenagarum, from its situation, Mr. R. supposes to be Oude; the Uxentius Mons, the hills of Bundelcund and Bahar; Maliba, Matura; Panassa, Panna, the famous diamond mine; and Palibothra, Pataliputra, or Patna. Of the Gangarides, who are sometimes called Callingæ Gangaridæ, from being intermixed with the Calingæ, Gangia Regia was probably the capital; but the great city of Palibothra, which not only gave law but name to a vast surrounding district, was the celebrated

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 36.

celebrated metropolis of the Prasii. They were, indeed, frequently denominated thence Palibothri, and their king Palibothrus; and so formidable were they in the field, that the soldiers of Alexander, as we have before hinted, terrified at the accounts brought to them of their intrepidity and resources, refused to pass the Hyphasis, and advanced to the banks of the Ganges, even when within twelve days march of that river.

With respect to the nations that inhabited the inland regions of the peninsula, nothing decisive can be ascertained concerning them from the accounts of authors commonly called classical; for, as the Greeks had very imperfect and inadequate ideas of the parts of India which they did traverse, it is not to be supposed they could arrive at any very authentic information concerning the parts which they did not explore. To this dearth of geographical knowledge, their total ignorance of the Indian language not a little contributed; and their fondness for moulding foreign names to a Grecian form has added much to the confusion in which both the history and geography of that people are involved. This custom was so prevalent among them, that Sir William Jones has remarked that

that there is hardly an Asiatic word, beside Por, or Porus, which they have not corrupted. Who, indeed, could have imagined, that out of Ucha,* the name of an Indian nation, Oxydracæ, a compound Greek word, signifying *sharp-sighted*, should have been formed and applied in their history to that people; that Gogra should be converted into Agoramis; and Renas into Aornus? By indulging their fancy in this romantic manner, they have thrown difficulties, almost insuperable, in the way of the geographer and the historian; and they have nearly defeated the end which their vanity had in view, by obscuring their brightest exploits, and giving their victories almost the air of fiction. Instead, therefore, of engaging farther in useless discussions relative to the names and situation of the various inferior cities of ancient India, let us direct our attention to the capital; an object at once magnificent and interesting, and of which their accounts are more particular as well as more uniform.

 CHAP.

* See, on this subject, Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 2.

CHAP. II.

Of the Extent and Grandeur of the City of Palibothra, the supposed Capital of ancient India, according to the classical Writers of Greece and Rome. — The Accounts given by Oriental Writers of the Magnificence of Canouge, its Metropolis in less remote Æras. — A short historical Account of the Capitals of Delhi, Lahore, and Agra.

THE riches, the splendour, and magnitude, of a capital are the most decisive proof of the extended commerce, the power, and consequence, of an empire. In reviewing the ancient glory of each successive metropolis of India, we shall be led to admire the genius and industry of that celebrated people, and the wisdom and policy of their governors, who raised it to that degree of superior eminence.

Although it be now determined that Palibothra and Canouge were not the same capitals, yet the circumstances that led to that

that conjecture are very strong, and deserve some notice.

Palibothra is placed on the map* of Ptolemy in the 27th degree of north latitude: in Mr. R.'s map Canouge is fixed in latitude 27° 5′, an inconsiderable difference indeed, when we recollect that the one is the most ancient and the other the most modern map extant. Indeed it is worthy of remark, and greatly to the honour of Ptolemy's fidelity, that, on a comparison of the latitudes of five different places between the Indus and Ganges, Mr. R. found the greatest difference to be only twelve minutes between the latitudes of that geographer and his own. Palibothra, he observed, in the former edition of his Memoir,† is placed by Ptolemy between the towns of Maliba on the west and Athenagarum on the east. The latitude given for Palibothra is within three miles of that of Canouge: now the latitudes of Maliba and Athenagarum are nearly those of Matura and Audiah, or Oude; and the proportional distances of the former from Palibothra answer minutely to those of the latter from Canouge.

 But

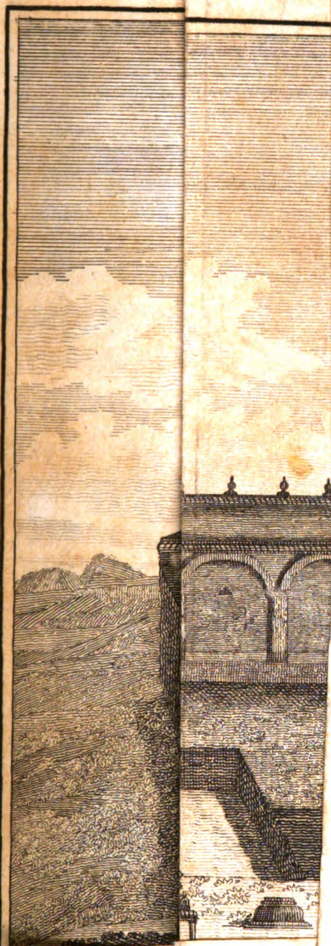
* Ptolomæi Geograph. Asiæ, Tab. 10.

† Memoir, first edition, p. 42.

But the great circumstance that seemed to place the supposition of Mr. R. beyond all doubt was, the relation given us of the astonishing opulence and splendour of Palibothra in all the ancient writers of foreign extraction, and the corroborating testimony of the native historians of India, in regard to Canouge, who, in their description of this great city, fill us with the loftiest notions of its power, extent, population, and grandeur. Mr. R. has presented us with a cursory account of both those cities; but I shall take a more extensive retrospect of the history of those celebrated places, and consider what may be collected from writers of most ancient date, compared with more modern accounts. Pliny, speaking of the capital of the Prasii, says: "*Omnium in India prope, non modo in hoc tractu, potentiam claritatemque antecedunt Prasii, amplissima urbe ditissimaque Palibotra*."* Ptolemy denominates it Παλιβοθρα Βασιλειον, the royal Palibothra; and Strabo,† from the account of Megasthenes, who had been there, particularizes its situation, extent, and dimensions. He asserts that it was situated at the conflux of another river with the Ganges; that its figure was quandrangular; that in length

* Plinius, lib. vi. cap. 19. † Strabo, lib. xv. p. 667.

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length it was eighty ſtadia, in breadth fifteen ſtadia; that it had a fortification of wood, with turrets for the archers to ſhoot from, and was ſurrounded by a vaſt ditch, as well for the ſake of defence as to receive the filth of ſo large a city.

Arrian * calls it μεγιςην πολιν Ινδοισιν, the greateſt city among the Indians; and adds, that it was ſituated at the point of confluence of the Erannaboa and the Ganges. By the Erannaboa he is ſuppoſed to have meant the Jomanes, and he writes the word Palimbothra. He gives the ſame number of ſtadia for its length and breadth as Strabo; mentions the prodigious foſſe, whoſe breadth was εξαπλεθρον, *ſex jugerum*, and forty-five feet deep, that there were on its walls five hundred and ſeventy towers, and that it had ſixty-five gates. Such is the account given of the city itſelf by thoſe ancient geographers, by Pliny and Arrian.

Of the vaſt power and military forces of the reigning ſovereigns of Palibothra we find particular mention made in the hiſtorians Diodorus Siculus, in Curtius, in Juſtin, and Plutarch, from whoſe accounts we ſhould be led to think that the kings of the Præſii and

* Arrianus, p. 324.

and Gangarides, on any national emergency, conſtantly united their armies, or at leaſt were joined in the ſtricteſt bonds of alliance, for their names are invariably mentioned together. The king of the Gangarides was moſt probably a rajah tributary to the ſupreme rajah of Palibothra, or, as was formerly conjectured, Canouge.

Diodorus* informs us, that, when Alexander had paſſed the Hyphaſis, he was informed, that, if he continued his progreſs towards the Ganges, after croſſing a deſert of twelve (Curtius ſays eleven) days journey, he would meet on the banks of that river the moſt formidable ſovereign of India, called Xambranes, king of the Gangarides, a name which ſeems here intended to include both nations, at the head of an army of twenty thouſand horſe, two hundred thouſand foot, two thouſand chariots of war, and four thouſand fighting elephants. Curtius calls † the king of the Gangarides and Pharraſis, by which he muſt mean the Praſians of other writers, Agrammes, aſſerts that he guarded the frontiers of his dominions with twenty thouſand horſe and two hundred thouſand foot, and that he could bring into the field two

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 678. † Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 2.

two thousand chariots and three thousand elephants. Plutarch * computes the power and forces of these mighty kings at a still more extravagant rate; for he says, their combined army amounted to eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eighty thousand armed chariots, and six thousand elephants of war. Convinced that the magnitude of these forces would appear incredible to his readers, he assures them it was no idle report; for that Sandrocottus (the Sinsarchund of Ferishtah's Indian history), who was then but a youth, and saw Alexander in his camp, some years afterwards conquered all these countries with an army of six hundred thousand men; and bought the friendship of Seleucus, the successor of Alexander, with a present of five hundred elephants. Sandrocottus told the ambassadors of Seleucus, that the prince at that time reigning was detested for his cruelty and despised for the meanness of his extraction; and that most probably, if Alexander had pushed on to the Ganges, he would have been victorious over him, from the general disaffection that reigned among his troops.
Curtius

* Plut. in Vita Alex.

Curtius * relates the same circumstance of Agrammes, which word is perhaps only a corruption of Xambranes; adding, that his father was of the basest rank of plebeians, and with great difficulty subsisted by following the occupation of a barber; but that having, from the beauty of his person, attracted the notice of the reigning queen, she had exalted him to a share of her bed; in return for which instance of royal condescension, the ungrateful wretch had murdered his sovereign, usurped her kingdom, and massacred the lawful heir of the throne, to make way for the elevation of his own son to empire.

Justin † gives to Alexander the honour of conquering the Gangarides, but mentions another nation by the name of Cuphites (Grævius his commentator thinks it should be Sophites, but both are probably mistaken in the name), who were ready to engage him with two hundred thousand horse, but with whom his harassed soldiers refused to fight, demanding to be led back to their

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* *Ceterum qui regnant, non modo ignobilem esse sed etiam ultimæ sortis: quippe patrem ejus tonsorem vix diurno quæstu propulsantem famam.* Curtius, editio Snakemb. tom. ii. p. 679.

† Justinus, lib. xii. cap. 8.

native country, that their mangled and emaciated carcases might at last find rest in the sepulchres of their fathers.

But it is now time to inquire whether the accounts given us of Canouge, by the Oriental historians, in any degree equal the lofty description of Palibothra above recited.

The same elegant and learned Abul Fazil, who, at the command of Sultan Akber, compiled the Ayeen Akbery, also translated, by the desire of his master, the famous Indian historical poem called the Mahabbarat, or History of the great War. In the Mahabbarat, Owde, the capital of a province of the same name to the north-east of Bengal, is said to have been the first regular imperial city of Hindostan. It was built in the reign of Krishen, one of the most ancient rajahs, a name which is likewise applied to a deity of the Hindoos. "That ancient city," says Sir W. Jones, in the Asiatic Researches,* "extended, if we may believe the Bramins, over a line of ten yojans, or about forty miles; and the present city of Lucknow was only a lodge for one of its gates. It is supposed to have been the birth-place of Rama."

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* See Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 259.

The Ayeen Akbery * reports Owde to have been in ancient time 148 cofs in length and 36 cofs in breadth. According to the Mahabbarat, Owde continued the imperial city during the fpace of about fifteen hundred years, when one of the princes of the dynafty of the Surajahs, a race who boafted their name and defcent from the Sun, erected upon the banks of the Ganges the great city of Canouge, the circumference of whofe walls is there faid to have been fifty cofs, or one hundred miles.

This event took place about the year 1000, before the Chriftian æra. The fimple and pure worfhip of the Deity, prefcribed by Brahma, is faid about this period to have degenerated into an idolatrous veneration of the hoft of heaven and the elements of nature. Temples and images were erected, and facred rites inftituted, in honour of the memory of heroes eminent in arts or fuccefsful in war; and Canouge was adorned with the lofty edifices raifed by royal vanity and vulgar fuperftition.

Sinkol, a native of Canouge, and the third emperor in fucceffion after the extinction of the dynafty above-mentioned, is afferted, in the

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 41.

the ſame book, to have kept up an army, whoſe magnitude greatly exceeds, in the number of foot and horſe, the forces enumerated by Plutarch; and in that of elephants, it is remarkable, exactly equals the amount ſtated by Diodorus Siculus. Sinkol brought into the field againſt Affraſiah, king of Perſia, four thouſand elephants of war, a hundred thouſand horſe, and four hundred thouſand foot; a force which, except in the number of elephants, ought not to be thought incredible, ſince (not to mention Xerxes's million) Timur is acknowledged to have had at one time nine hundred thouſand men in the field; ſince Aurengzeb, in this century, maintained a ſtanding force of five hundred thouſand men; ſince the army which followed Mahommed Shah to the plains of Karnal was ſo vaſt as to defy computation, and, according to the ſtrong expreſſion of a modern writer, "to be famiſhed by its own numbers;" and ſince a Soobahdar of the Decan, almoſt in our own times, could bring into the field an army of eighty thouſand horſe and two hundred thouſand foot.

The ſon and ſucceſſor of Sinkol dying without iſſue to inherit the throne, we are told Canouge was involved in civil diſtrac-

tions:

tions: but afterwards we find Delu, the founder of Delhi, reigning in peace and ſplendour upon its throne, till invaded by the uſurper Foor (the father of that Porus who was the antagoniſt of Alexander), who took him priſoner, and ravaged his metropolis, but ſeems not to have made it the ſeat of his empire.

Sinſarchund, or Sandrocottus, the ſucceſſor of Porus, who took advantage of the convulſed ſtate of the empire, occaſioned by that invaſion, to raiſe himſelf to the throne, at the head of an immenſe army, reſtored to Canouge the honour of being the capital of Hindoſtan, and received there the ambaſſadors of Seleucus, the ſucceſſor of Alexander, among whom was Megaſthenes, the principal negotiator between the two monarchs, about three hundred years before the Chriſtian æra. Jona, the ſecond in ſucceſſion from Sinſarchund, is ſaid not only to have reigned himſelf in great tranquillity at Canouge, but his poſterity afterwards are related to have peaceably poſſeſſed the throne during a period of ninety years.

Callian Chund, a warlike and ſanguinary prince, who reigned over Hindoſtan about 170 years before Chriſt, and may poſſibly be

be the Demetrius of Juſtin,* is ſaid in Feriſhtah to have been driven, on account of his tyranny, from the throne, by a general inſurrection of the rajahs dependent upon his authority. With him the regular empire of India may be ſaid to have fallen; for, after this event, many years of diſcord and anarchy enſued, and each more powerful rajah became alternately a competitor for the ſupreme authority.

A long period of obſcurity in the hiſtory of the kings of Canouge now ſucceeds; but in this dearth of Indian hiſtory we may derive a glimmering of information from the Roman annals; where we are informed, that, in the time of Auguſtus, an Indian embaſſy arrived at Rome from a monarch of the name of Porus, who boaſted in his letters that ſix hundred kings or rajahs were tributary to him; which, if true, could only be true of the ſupreme lord or emperor of Hindoſtan. Now Jona in Feriſhtah is ſaid to have been a grand nephew of Foor; and it is not impoſſible that one of the ſame family might have headed the rebellious rajahs, and fixed the ſupreme dominion once more in his own martial line. This diſquiſition, however, more properly

* See Juſtin, lib. xli. cap. 6.

properly belongs to the general hiſtory of India, than to this abridged account of Canouge and its kings. I ſhall therefore paſs on to the reign of Baſdeo, that monarch, who, according both to Perſian and Hindoo writers, entertained in this capital Baharam Gore, king of Iran, or Perſia, who had come, in the diſguiſe of a merchant, to explore the truth of what he had heard concerning its vaſt opulence and the grandeur of its monarch. In the neighbourhood of this city he is ſaid to have met with a wild elephant, who in the ſeaſon of luſt had ruſhed furiouſly from the woods, and, attacking Baharam, was ſlain by him. The celebrity he acquired by this feat was the means of his introduction to the notice of the king, at whoſe court he was known by ſome nobles who had been in Perſia, and reluctantly conſtrained to aſſume his proper character, in which he was treated with the utmoſt magnificence, and in the end eſpouſed the only daughter of the Indian monarch.*

Who were the two Phraotes, father and ſon, who reigned in India when Apollonius Tyanæus, according to his biographer Philoſtratus, viſited that country in the firſt century,

* Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 138, and Feriſhtah, p. 13.

tury, the ſcanty records we have of Indian affairs at this period will not guide us in determining; they were, however, probably among the number of thoſe more formidable rajahs, who, during the civil commotions, roſe to the imperial diadem. The ſame Philoſtratus informs us, that the kingdom of the ancient Porus, on the weſtern ſide of India, was at the ſame time governed by Mandrus. I take the kingdom of Mandrus to have been that of Delhi, which was about this time riſing into great eminence as the rival metropolis of Canouge.

Leaving for future conſideration the dubious names and characters of the ſucceſſors of theſe princes in the ſovereignty of India, mentioned either by Indian or Roman hiſtorians, we come to the reign of Rhamdeo Rhator, or the Maratta, who in the beginning of the fifth century, after a campaign of five months, having ſubdued near FIVE HUNDRED rebellious rajahs and zemeendars, entered Canouge in all the pomp and triumph of a conqueror. In memory of his victories, he made a magnificent feſtival for his army in that metropolis, and divided among his ſoldiers the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed rajahs, diſtributing to each forty pieces of gold, and throwing to the populace

a third part of the amazing booty. He reigned fifty-four years in Canouge, and seems to have established the empire on a new and more permanent basis.

The last king of Canouge, considered as the metropolis of a great empire, was Maldeo, who likewise added the kingdom of Delhi to his dominion. In his reign, that is, in the beginning of the sixth century, we are told that this city was grown so populous, that there were in it thirty thousand shops in which areca or beetle-nut,* which the Hindoos almost universally use as the Europeans do tobacco, was sold; and sixty thousand bands of musicians and singers, who paid a tax to the government, resided there: from which circumstance we may judge of the great extent, and, it may be added, the dissipation, of this renowned capital.

From this period we read no more of Canouge as the metropolis of Hindostan; for, Maldeo dying at the end of forty years, and having no issue, every petty rajah again rendered himself independent in his government.

* In the Ayeen Akbery it is said, that the Soobah of Agra, in which Canouge stands, is remarkable for producing very excellent beetle-leaf. In the same book, under Sircar KINOJE, (p. 41,) the reader will notice PUTTYALY and PUTTYALYPOOR.

ment. It ſtill continued, however, a very magnificent city; its rajah poſſeſſed the firſt rank, both of civil and military diſtinction; and we find his name particularly mentioned among the five great rajahs who united to oppoſe the firſt invaſion of Subuctagi, or Sabektekin, as the Arabians, and D'Herbelot after them, write the word. When Sultan Mahmud Gaznavi, about the year 1000, penetrated through the mountains of Tibet, and inveſted Canouge, he is ſaid there to have ſeen a city which raiſed its head to the firmament, and which in ſtrength and ſtructure might juſtly boaſt to have no equal.* We are informed that its reigning ſovereign, Rajah Korrah, affected to live in great pomp and ſplendour, but that, not being prepared for ſo unexpected an attack, he ſurrendered himſelf and his city to the ſultan, who ſtaid in Canouge three days.† Thus Canouge at length became an appendage to the great empire eſtabliſhed by Mahmud, from its capital Gazna, called Gaznavide; and we read little more of it worthy notice in the domeſtic hiſtory of India.

Turning to the Ayeen Akbery, and looking for Canouge, under the Soobah in which it

* Feriſhtah, vol. i. p. 27. † Ibid. p. 57.

it is ſituated, I find nothing deſcriptive of its antient extent and grandeur, but only the corroborative intelligence, that, "in ancient times, Kinoje was the CAPITAL city of Hindoſtan:" nor is there any hiſtorical account, as uſual, added to the ſhort geographical ſketch of the province. There is, however, a valuable fragment of hiſtory annexed to the account of the Soobah of Delhi, which will be of material ſervice to me in the ſubſequent pages: and in that hiſtory there is an alluſion to a ſovereign of Canouge, which ſeems to prove, notwithſtanding the evidence I have cited to the contrary, that ſo late as the year 588 of the Hegira, or A. D. 1192, the rajah of Canouge was ſtill the ſupreme ſovereign of the empire of Hindoſtan. Indeed it expreſsly affirms it of Rajah Jychund, the prince then reigning; but whether that prince aſcended the throne by hereditary right or by violence is not to be aſcertained. It is indeed a beautiful ſtory, and, though ſomewhat romantic towards the concluſion, fully proves the abſolute dependance of all the inferior rajahs upon the monarch of Canouge. This, however, is by no means the only evidence which that book ſupplies in favour of the ſuppoſition that Canouge was once the imperial

perial city, not only of a vaſt kingdom on the Ganges, as is conjectured by Mr. Rennel, but of all Hindoſtan. Although the rajah of Guzzurat, as that gentleman obligingly informed me, might have been the Balhara of Edriſi, yet that, in the early periods of the Hegira, even the remote kingdom of Guzzurat was dependant on the ſovereign of Canouge is manifeſt from the hiſtory there given of that Soobah, in which it is expreſsly aſſerted, upon the authority of Hindoo annals, that in A. H. 154, Bunſrai became the firſt independent monarch of Guzzurat, and that the earlieſt effort of his rebellion was the act "of ſeizing * the royal treaſure which was going to Canouge." If the hiſtorical accounts in the Ayeen Akbery are not to be depended upon, where is authenticity to be found? We muſt at leaſt be guided by them until we can obtain others more genuine; and I ſhall ever be happy to improve and correct my hiſtory by them, when in my power to acquire more certain documents.

The Oriental writers are extravagant in their accounts of the immenſe wealth acquired by Mahmud in his expedition againſt Canouge.

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 89.

Canouge.* They ſay that India was then divided among ſeveral kings, of which one who had the title of Balhara, a word ſignifying *king of kings*, and reigned at Canouge, was the chief. They affirm the conqueſt of the kingdom of Balhara, which at length he accompliſhed, to be the moſt illuſtrious of all his exploits; and enumerate the immenſe wealth and the incredible number of ſlaves he carried back to Gazna. D'Herbelot, in copying thoſe writers, as I ſhall hereafter, prove, has mis-ſpelt the word Kinoje;† he writes it Kiſraje, and has led the authors of the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, who verbally tranſlate the article from the Bibliotheque Orientale, into the ſame error.

Sir William Jones,‡ ſpeaking of this part of India, ſays: "The ancient ſyſtem of government which prevailed in this country ſeems to have been perfectly feudal; all the territories were governed by rais, or rajahs, who

* Sherifeddin, in his Life of Timur Bec, mentions a Perſian hiſtory of Mahmud's Indian incurſions, called Yemini, which particularly celebrates his conqueſt of Canouge. Timur Bec, vol. ii. p. 79.

† See D'Herbelot on the article Mahmud Gaznavi; and the Modern Univ. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 178, firſt 8vo. edit.

‡ Short Hiſt. of Aſia, p. 30.

who held their lands of a ſupreme lord called Belhár; the ſeat of whoſe reſidence was the city of Canouge, now in ruins." The paſſage in the Ayeen Akbery, referred to above, exhibits a curious proof of this feudal dependance of the ſubordinate rajahs, and the neceſſity of their paying homage in perſon, at ſtated periods, to the ſupreme Belhár; for, at a great feſtival or ſacrifice called Raiſoo,* at which all the rajahs of Hindoſtan were obliged to attend, and of which the meaneſt offices, "even to the duties of the ſcullery," were performed by rajahs; Pithowra, the rajah of Delhi, from contempt of the ſovereign, not attending, "that the feſtival might not be incomplete," an effigy in gold of the abſent rajah was formed, and, by way of retorted contempt, aſſigned the ignoble office of porter of the gate. The raſhneſs of Pithowra in the end coſt him his crown and his life.

The ruins of Canouge, Mr. Rennel obſerves, are even at this day of very great extent; and, from the evidence thus collected together, and apparently inapplicable to any other place on that ſide of India, it appeared to me ſufficiently manifeſt that

Canouge

* Raiſoo, the ſame feaſt of which we read in the Mahabbarat.

Canouge was indisputably the Palibothra of the ancients. That idea, however, being now abandoned, we can only solve the difficulty by supposing, with the Memoir, that it is possible both cities might have been occasionally used as capitals of the Prasii, as Delhi and Agra have been in the later periods of the empire in general; and that, in the accounts given of them by foreigners, they have been frequently confounded together, or the one mistaken for the other.

The city of DELHI, according to Ferishtah, was founded by DELU, the usurper of the throne of Hindostan, about 300 years before the commencement of the Christian æra; but, according to the more probable account of the Ayeen Akbery,* Aurungpaul, of the Tenore tribe, was its real founder, in the year 429 of the æra of Bickermajit,† an æra not greatly dissimilar from that of Christ. It was for a series of ages governed by its own rajahs, who seem to have had considerable weight in the empire, and to have been very active in repelling both the ancient Persian and more modern Mohammedan invaders of Hindostan. They were descended from, and were for some time

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 118.

† Bickermajit flourished in the first century of the Christian æra.

time tributary to, the great rajahs of Lahore, of the race of BAL, or PAUL, a name celebrated for valour in the heroic histories of the country: this family is denominated Jeipal by Ferishtah, but Gebal by D'Herbelot, from other historians of the Gaznavide Sultans. By this appellation the latter distinguishes* "*le plus puissant roi de l'Indostan*;" and in another place calls him, "*Bal, fils d'Andbal, estimé le plus riche et le plus puissant roi de* TOUT L'INDOSTAN." I think there can hardly be a doubt, when we consider their great military fame and their place of residence, but that this long, hereditary, and illustrious, race of Bal, or Paul, was the same as that of Porus, so often mentioned by classical writers. I am aware, however, that Bal (whence the word Bal-hara,† or *the greatest lord*, is formed) may be only a title of regal distinction, and was sometimes usurped by the sovereigns of other Soobahs. Twenty princes of this line are particularly said, in the Ayeen Akbery, to have enjoyed in regular succession, for 437 years, the throne of Delhi, not yet imperial,

* Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 354.

† BALHARA is derived either from the Persian BALLA, *high*; or the Arabic BAL, *lord*; MAHA, *mighty*; and RAI, or RAJA, *sovereign*. Many Persian words are blended with Sanscreet.

rial. An extenſive territory to the north and ſouth of Delhi was ſubject to the control of its rajah, ſince we read in Feriſhtah, that the ancient and hallowed cities both of Tannaſar (the Tamaſis of Ptolemy) and Muttra, or Matura, (the Methora of Pliny,) ſituated only thirty-ſix miles north of Agra, and ſtill a conſiderable city, were under his juriſdiction and protection. The laſt of its native princes, according to the Ayeen Akbery, was Pithowra, from whoſe family it was conquered by the Mohammedan ſlave Cuttub, or Cothbedden Ibek, as he is called by Herbelot, who made Delhi the capital of the vaſt empire which he eſtabliſhed in Hindoſtan. The prince from whom it was immediately taken is ſaid by Feriſhtah to have been called Candi; and, as whenever I quote this author I always ſeek for collateral evidence, in Marco Polo's Indian Travels I find mention made of a rajah of the ſame name, who is affirmed to have been the chief of the four great kings who then reigned in the peninſula. Candi loſt his throne nearly at the expiration of the twelfth century:* Marco Polo viſited India about the middle of the thirteenth century; and it is not improbable that the exiled family, though

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* See his Travels in Campbell's edition of Harris, vol. i. p. 621.

unable to oppose the torrent of Mohammedan success, might still retain sufficient vigour and resources to secure a respectable territory in the southern regions of that extensive country. That the descendants of the race of Bal did retire southward, from the exterminating fury of the Mohammedans, seems to be apparent, from what Mr. Chambers, in the Asiatic Researches, has related concerning the extensive and ruinous remains of a vast city near Sadras, on the Coromandel coast, now called Mavalipuram, but which he contends in Sanscreet might have been written Mahabalipur, or the city of the great Bali. The greater part of these ruins has been corroded and washed away by the violent inroads of the sea, on whose border they now stand; but from which it is probable they were in former ages situated at a considerable distance. The more ancient inhabitants of the place now living remember when a far greater number of pagodas than at present appear raised their heads above the water, which, being covered with copper, and probably gilt, reflected the rays of the rising sun, and diffused a glory over the ocean, that seemed to indicate how wide, and at the same time how magnificent, where the ruins it concealed. A city also, called Balipatna, stands

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on the Malabar coast, which may be considered as an additional proof to what is recorded in D'Anville, from Edrisi, of the extensive power and dominion of this very ancient race.

While I am upon the subject of these ancient monuments of Indian grandeur, so eagerly and so laudably investigated by the gentlemen who compose the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, as containing irrefragable testimony in support and elucidation of many great historical but doubtful points, such as occur in almost every page of the Indian annals, let me not forget to remark, that the same book contains a grant of land, bearing date twenty-three years before the commencement of the Christian æra, of one of the rajahs of this very name, who is styled Deb Paul Deb, equally instructive to the historian and interesting to the antiquary. Among much other curious and useful information, of which I hope hereafter to avail myself, this Paul is said to have been the son of Dharmo Paul, who married the daughter of a celebrated rajah called PORO BAL; and the union of two such words in the same name, and *that* the name of a rajah of eminence, will, I hope, rescue my former conjecture from any severe animadversions.

Delhi

Delhi is ſituated in latitude 28° 37′. If we may believe the Mahabbarat, it ſtands upon the ſite of a moſt ancient city, called Inderput, in times juſtly reputed fabulous the metropolis of the country. The Ayeen Akbery, however, confirms this account, expreſsly aſſerting that Delhi is a very ancient city, "and was formerly called Inderput." Delhi roſe to renown as the glory of Canouge declined. Its conſequence as an imperial city increaſed with that of the Mohammedan dynaſty, which bears its name, and it continued to flouriſh as one of the moſt ſplendid cities of Aſia, and as the unrivalled metropolis of Hindoſtan, under all the ſultans of the Gaznavide, the Gauride, and Charazmian, dynaſties. Each ſucceſſive monarch adorned this envied city with ſome ſignal memorial of royal magnificence; it was ſurrounded with beautiful gardens and aromatic groves; and was filled with innumerable edifices, erected for the purpoſes of commerce, appropriated to the diffuſion of ſcience, or devoted to the ſanctities of religion.

At the period of the invaſion of Timur Bec, Delhi is ſaid to have arrived at a point of diſtinction in regard to its unequalled wealth and extended commerce, which it never after reached. Sherifeddin, the Perſian hiſtorian of his

his life, describes that capital * as consisting of three cities, which he denominates Seiri, Gehanpenah, and Old-Delhi. Seiri was invested with a strong circular wall; † Old Delhi, or the ancient Inderput, had likewise a circular wall, but far more considerable in extent. Gehanpenah occupied the space between the two cities, and was considerably larger than either: the walls by which it was fortified running on each side in parallel lines, and connecting the two former cities. The metropolis, thus formed of three great cities, spread over a very wide extent of ground; and, according to Sherifeddin, had no less than thirty, others say fifty, gates. It was celebrated, he informs us, for a mosque of astonishing dimensions, and for a palace of admirable magnificence, which was erected by Malek Jona, an ancient king of India, and was ornamented with a thousand marble columns.‡

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* See Sherifeddin's Timur-Bec, vol. ii. p. 67.

† In the Ayeen Akbery Seiri is said to have been built by Sultan Alladeen.

‡ Mr. Finch, one of the first and most respectable visitants of India in the last century, in describing the ruins of Old Delhi, particularizes the remains of this august pile, which at that period, (1609,) little more than 200 years after Timur's invasion, was mouldered away to what he calls "a mere carcase, worn out, and disfigured to the last degree." Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 88.

The Persian authors are lavish in their praises of this great and beautiful metropolis. The seat of voluptuousness, and the central repository of whatever the vast traffic, carried on by the Indian merchants with Persia, Arabia, and China, produced, it abounded with costly rarities of every kind; the tribute of the most distant climes, the labour of the most skilful artificers. But a savage conqueror now approached, before whom the pride of India and the delight of her sovereigns must bow the head. Through a deluge of human blood, shed in his progress from Samarcand to India, and fresh from the unprovoked massacre of 100,000 captive Hindoos, who were left expiring almost beneath its walls, the merciless Timur pressed on to its destruction. He entered the city in triumph, on the 4th of January, 1399. The great standard of the Tartarian empire was immediately erected on its walls; and the usurper, seated upon the throne of India, in all the pride of conquest, received the prostrate obeisance of the nobility of both nations. The royal elephants and rhinoceros, adorned with rich trappings of gold and silver, were brought to the foot of the throne, and, instructed by their leaders, made the *salaam* of gratulation. Some days were consumed in

rewarding with ſuitable honours the princes and generals of the victorious army, in banquets of unbounded magnificence, and in inſulting heaven with the grateful vows of ſucceſsful tyranny. At length, on ſome reſiſtance reluctantly made by the inhabitants to the wanton outrages of their conquerors, Delhi, and all the wonders it contained, was given up to be pillaged by an enraged ſoldiery; and, on the 13th of the ſame month, "that great and proud city was deſtroyed." We may form ſome judgment of the enormous booty obtained in this general pillage, from the account given by the ſame author of the number of ſlaves made captive, and of the immenſe quantities of precious ſtones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, gold and ſilver veſſels, money, and bullion, carried away by the army. Even the Indian women and girls are ſaid to have been adorned with a profuſion of precious ſtones, and had bracelets and rings of gold and jewels, not only on their hands and feet, but alſo on their toes. Of theſe precious ornaments every individual had ſecured ſo ample a ſtore, that they refuſed the incumbrance of more, and vaſt heaps of various plunder of ineſtimable value were left behind. Theſe are nearly the words of the Perſian author, who

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bears the ſtricteſt character in the Eaſt for veracity, and who was cotemporary with the monarch whoſe hiſtory he relates.

Under the dynaſty of kings that immediately ſucceeded the invaſion of Timur, Delhi ſoon recovered its priſtine ſplendour and importance as the imperial city of Hindoſtan. In the courſe of a few ages that city became again crowded with many majeſtic monuments of Patan grandeur, in moſques, baths, and caravanſeras; and the ſepulchres of its deceaſed monarchs of that line, as well as of many other holy and illuſtrious men, whoſe names are enumerated in the Ayeen Akbery, preſented to the eye of travellers an awful and ſtriking ſpectacle.

When Baber, advancing from his imperial city of Cabul, on the north-weſt frontiers of Hindoſtan, had overturned the power of the Patans in the perſon of Ibrahim, the court reſided alternately at Agra and Delhi. The uſurper Shere, who during his ſhort reign erected throughout Hindoſtan many ſtately edifices, and, among others, that ſuperb mauſoleum in Bahar,* in which he lies interred,

* This noble monument of the magnificence of Shere ſtill remains entire. It ſtands in the centre of a grand artificial lake, nearly a mile in length. There has been lately publiſhed an elegant engraving of it, from a painting by Mr. Hodges.

pulled down the ancient town of Seiri, and built a new city on its foundation; which, however, when Abul Fazil, who relates this fact, wrote the Institutes of Akber, was for the most part in ruins. Homaion, on his restoration to that throne, which Shere and his family had so long usurped, laid the foundations of a new and magnificent palace at Delhi, which he did not live to finish; but meeting his fate shortly after in that city, from the effects of too powerful a dose of opium, was himself buried on the banks of the neighbouring Jumna, where a noble monument was erected over his remains by the great Akber, his son, and successor in the imperial dignity. That most renowned of all the sovereigns of the house of Timur contributed no otherwise to its ornament; but, on the contrary, by fixing his residence for the most part at Agra, and lavishing such immense sums on the structure of its castle, and on the stupendous erections at Secundra in its neighbourhood, completed the ruin which time and neglect had united to spread through the wide circumference and amidst the desolated towers of Delhi.

Notwithstanding the astonishing sums expended by Akber on the palace, or rather the castle,

caſtle, of Agra, (for, all the Eaſtern palaces are built with a view to defence,) the ſituation, upon a ſcorched ſandy ſoil, and under a more ſouthern ſun, was neither eſteemed ſo ſalubrious by his ſucceſſors, nor ſo centrical for the command of the various provinces of the empire, according to its diviſions at that period, (for, the ſouthern parts of the peninſula were not yet ſubjugated,) as was that of Delhi.* The turbulent governors of the northern provinces bordering upon Perſia were perpetually fomenting rebellions; and for their extinction were required the ſpeedy, the effectual, and the concentrated, exertions of the ſupreme authority. Actuated partly by theſe motives, and partly by the deſire of immortalizing his name, in the erection of a city that ſhould exceed in grandeur all the other cities of Hindoſtan, Jehaun Shah, the grandſon of Akber, in A.D. 1647, according to Fraſer, rebuilt Delhi from the ground, and called the new city Jehaunabad, after his own name. He at the ſame time conſtructed a palace not leſs diſtinguiſhed for its ſpacious

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* Terry thinks this city, ſituated in the *heart* of the empire, was called Delhi, or, as he writes it, Dellee, from a word in the Hindoſtan language ſignifying a *heart*. *Dill* is the Indian word for heart. It ſhould more properly be written DEHLY.

and ſplendid apartments, calculated for every purpoſe of ſtate and luxury, than for the extent and beauty of the gardens with which it was adorned, where every odorous plant and beautiful flower of Aſia at once feaſted the eye with delight and filled the air with fragrance, where fountains of the pureſt water perpetually flowed, and where vaſt artificial caverns ſheltered the fainting fugitive from the ſevere fervours of an eaſtern noon.

To enter into a minute detail of all the curioſities contained in this new city and this extraordinary palace, which was particularly famous for the throne erected by the ſame prince, in the form of a peacock, with its tail expanded, and entirely compoſed of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and ſapphires, and of all the vaſt treaſures amaſſed in this capital by that oſtentatious monarch, as related by Bernier, Thevenot, and Tavernier, would be to ſwell theſe prefatory pages to a magnitude diſproportioned to the body of the hiſtory itſelf. Reſerving, therefore, the remaining hiſtory of this famed metropolis for thoſe more recent periods to which it properly belongs, I ſhall conclude this account of its ancient grandeur, by obſerving,

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in general, that, from the death of Shah Jehaun, till the year thirty-eight of the present century, Delhi continued to flourish in increased consequence and splendour as the capital of Hindostan. In that year, so fatal to the towering majesty of the Mogul monarchs in India, a barbarian, more deeply stained with blood than even Timur himself, whose native ferocity of soul was aggravated and inflamed by the stings of insatiable avarice, entered the richest metropolis in the world, once more devoted its hapless inhabitants to unrestrained massacre, and plundered its sumptuous palace of the accumulated wealth of ages. According to Fraser's calculation, the invasion of Nadir cost Hindostan 100 millions of pounds sterling and 200,000 lives. The several conquerors of this ill-fated city seem to have advanced progressively in the scale of horrible enormity. A dæmon of cruelty yet remains to be noticed, whose unprecedented barbarities make humanity shudder, and whose outrages extended to the grave itself. Ahmed Abdollah, who, upon the death of Nadir, had erected into an independent monarchy the provinces bordering upon Persia on the one hand and upon Hindostan on the other, in the year

1756 marched into Delhi, which he gave up for three days to be pillaged by his ſoldiers, who, in levying their contributions, practiſed every ſpecies of barbarity upon the wretched inhabitants; and, in their eager ſearch for concealed treaſures, ſcrupled not to violate even the ſepulchres of the dead. Ahmed is ſuppoſed, on his firſt viſit, to have carried away more riches, except in jewels, than Nadir himſelf; but, unſatiated with this grand booty, he returned to Hindoſtan no leſs than ſix different times during the ſhort reign of Allum Geer. His ſixth and laſt viſit was in 1759 and 1760, when Delhi was again plundered, and that magnificent city, which for 500 years, with little intermiſſion, had flouriſhed as the capital of Hindoſtan, and, during the reign of Aurungzeb, was ſuppoſed to contain near two million of inhabitants, was totally ruined and almoſt depopulated.

We come now, in the words of Milton, whoſe geography was as accurate as his poetry was ſublime,

To AGRA and LAHORE of Great Mogul,

of which celebrated capitals, our account, from the extent of the preceding hiſtorical retroſpect, muſt of neceſſity be compreſſed within

within the narroweſt poſſible limits conſiſtent with the profeſſed deſign in giving that account.

Lahore, or rather Lahoor, is the capital of a large province to the north-weſt of Delhi, called by the natives Panjab; from Panj, *five*, and Ab, *water*, becauſe watered by the five branches of the Indus. Lahore is marked on the new map as ſituated in the 31ſt degree of north latitude; and it ſtands on the banks of the Rauvee, the ancient Hydraotes. It is a city of ſuch great antiquity, that if it be not in reality the Bucephala of Alexander, as, according to our former remark, has been ſuppoſed, it will be extremely difficult to fix for certainty upon its founder; for the Ayeen Akbery is ſilent on the ſubject.

Lahore, lying on the direct road that leads into the heart of Hindoſtan, has ever been haraſſed, both in ancient and modern æras, by the armies of contending princes, and has experienced every viciſſitude to which the alternate triumph and defeat of the ſovereign can ſubject a capital. From the time of Alexander to the preſent day Panjab has been more deeply ſtained with blood than any other province of the empire; and the fre-

quent

quent battles, that have been fought within its territory, have probably contributed to keep alive that ardour of fortitude for which its rajahs, and the ſubjects under their government, have been ever diſtinguiſhed. They oppoſed with vigour the progreſs of the Macedonian invader. The generals of Valid were prevented, principally by the valour of thoſe frontier warriors, from penetrating beyond Multan. It has been aſſerted, indeed, that the army of Valid, under Mohammed Caſim, ſubjugated a conſiderable part of Hindoſtan; and it would appear ſo from Erpennius's verſion of Al Makin, where he ſays, "*Mohammed Indiam occupavit*," but the contrary is evident, from an hiſtorical note which the late very learned editor of the Annals of Abulfeda has added, and which both aſſigns the cauſe and records the extent of that invaſion.* Jeipal, the rajah of Lahore, during the repeated incurſions of Subuctagi and his ſon Mahmud, exhibited the moſt heroic proofs of bravery in the defence of his hereditary domain, which extended from Caſhmire to Multan; and great indeed

* See Abulfedæ Annales Muſlemicæ, Arabice et Latine, per J. J. Reiſk, tom. i. p. 427. Hafniæ, 1789: and Hiſt. Saracen. Elmacini, edit. Erpen. p. 84. Lugd. Bat. 1625.

indeed muſt have been the wealth he poſſeſſed, ſince when, at length, after three deſperate efforts, he was taken priſoner by the enemy, around his neck alone were found ſuſpended ſixteen ſtrings of jewels, each of which was valued at 180,000 rupees, and the whole at 320,000 pounds ſterling. This ſum, however, is trifling, compared with that which Mirkhond ſays the ſultan of Gazna, in his expedition againſt Jeipal, or Bal, as he calls him, and in a ſecond againſt his ſon Andbal (Feriſhtah's Annindpal*), carried out of India. He ſtates it at ſeven millions of coin in gold, ſeven hundred maunds† of gold in ingots, together with an ineſtimable quantity of pearls and precious ſtones. Jeipal, when at length liberated, ſtung with the anguiſh ariſing from his late defeat and captivity, and partly impelled by thoſe feelings, and partly in obedience to a cuſtom then prevalent among the Hindoos, which forbade a rajah who had been twice vanquiſhed by the Muſſulmen longer to hold the

* Feriſhtah, vol. i. p. 41. Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 280.

† The maund is a weight which varies in different parts of India. At Bengal, it is equal to ſeventy-four pounds and two-thirds; at Surat, to thirty-ſeven pounds and a half; at Madras, to twenty-five. The maund in Perſia is conſiderably leſs.

the reins of government, reſigned the throne to his ſon. He then ordered a funeral pile to be prepared and kindled, and, leaping into the flames, died as heroically as he had lived.

Not to anticipate farther the events more largely and more connectedly recorded in the enſuing hiſtory, it will be ſufficient to re-mark, in this place, that Lahore continued to flouriſh as a great, populous, and wealthy, capital under many of the ſucceeding Mohammedan uſurpers of India, and in particular under the ſultans Coſro, the firſt and ſecond of that name, and the laſt of the houſe of Gazna, who, being driven from their former capital by Mahomed of Gaur, made Lahore the metropolis of their remaining empire. It was for ſome time the imperial city of Cuttub, who, afterwards extending his conqueſt eaſtward, found it neceſſary to remove the ſeat of his empire to the more central city of Delhi. Deſerted by royalty, Lahore loſt not its ſplendour and importance; theſe were ſupported by the vaſt commerce which about that period it enjoyed above all the cities of Hindoſtan. The period, however, of its proudeſt diſtinction, as a commercial city, ſeems to have

been

been that in which the traffic, at present carried on by the European settlements upon the coast of India, passed in caravans through the inland provinces of Asia, when Lahore, as well as Cabul, was crowded with merchants from all nations; and her bazars were furnished with the richest commodities, both of the Eastern and European world. To Lahore, as to a general store-house, were brought the costly silks of Persia, and the precious gums and drugs of Arabia, to be exchanged for the gems of India and the rich manufactures of China.

To its royal honours and distinction Lahore was restored by Homaion, who, both previously to the usurpation of Shere, and during the period of his exile from the throne, made this city his principal residence. He erected in it many stately edifices, and particularly the palace, which was uncommonly lofty, and which, according to Mr. Finch, who visited it in 1609, (nearly sixty years before Thevenot, whose description is more generally referred to,) had twelve noble gates; nine opening towards the land-side, and three towards the river. The same author affirms, that the city was twenty-four cose in circumference, and, including the suburbs, six

cose in length; which, taking the cose at a mile and three-quarters, is not greatly dissimilar from Thevenot's account of its extent in the time of Homaion: for, he states that extent at three leagues; although, at the period of his own visit, it was diminished to one league. What Homaion had thus splendidly begun, Jehaun Geer, who preferred this situation to his father's sumptuous palace at Agra, completed in the noble style of the designer. The English traveller mentioned above resided here while those works, which were to make Lahore "the finest city of Asia," were advancing to perfection. He mentions the grand fosse at that time casting up round the whole circumference, and the strong wall about to be erected, which later travellers say was of free-stone, flanked with towers, and guarded by numerous artillery. Jehaun Geer indeed could, better than the exiled Homaion, afford to perfect magnificent projects; for, at his coming to the throne, he found a treasury, as will appear hereafter from Mandeslo's correct account, so full, or rather so overflowing, with every species of wealth, accumulated during Akber's long reign of fifty years, as to appear inexhaustible. Mr. Finch's account of

of the palace itſelf is too remarkable and particular to be omitted; and I ſhall therefore extract it as a ſpecimen of that traveller's agreeable, ſpirited, and, conſidering the period when it was penned, I may add, elegant, manner of writing: "As for the rarities of the caſtle or palace, they are by far too numerous, as well as too glorious, to be juſtly repreſented by a ſhort deſcription; the mahls, the courts, the galleries, the rooms of ſtate, are almoſt endleſs; and, to give an idea of the extravagant richneſs of the furniture of theſe, it may be ſufficient to ſay, that, in the king's lodgings, the very walls and ceilings are overlaid with plates of gold; and the others are as prodigally rich and ſumptuous in proportion. There are a vaſt number of ſtately pictures hanging up and down in the galleries and public rooms, all drawn at full length. Here is the whole royal family down from Baber, that made the conqueſt of India, to this preſent Mogul. Beſides theſe, are all the principal noblemen * of the preſent government, the Mahometan omrahs and khans, and

* Sir Thomas Roe, who went ambaſſador to India in 1615, only ſix years after Mr. Finch, relates ſome curious anecdotes, of which I ſhall take notice in their proper place, of Jehaun Geer's enthuſiaſtic fondneſs for the art of painting. See Sir T. Roe's Journal, in Churchill's voluminous collection, vol. i. p. 64.

and the native Indian princes that are of any great power or figure about the king. For curiofities without, the king's garden may be reckoned among the chief: here India and Europe feem to lie together on the fame fpot, which prefents the eye with the vegetable varieties of both."* To this account of the fine paintings and rich but decayed furniture that adorned the palace of Lahore, Thevenot, and all the later travellers of the laft century, bear ample teftimony. M. Bernier, who was at this city in the fuit of the emperor Aurungzeb, whom he attended in the capacity of phyfician, and who dates from this place the third letter in his expedition to Cafhmire, fpeaks of the palace as a high and magnificent ftructure, but haftening rapidly to ruin, as well as the city itfelf, from the long abfence of the court. Exceffive torrents of rain, he obferves, had previoufly fallen, and had greatly contributed towards the demolition of the public buildings and forfaken palaces of the nobility; that ftill, however, five or fix confiderable ftreets remained, of which two or three were above a league in length; but that the Rauvee, which, from its vaft rapidity and occafional

* Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 88.

cafional overflowing, had often caufed great devaftation, had changed its bed, and, to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants, at that time flowed above a quarter of a league from the city. A fimilar misfortune has befallen many of the ancient cities of Hindoftan; for we are informed that Gour, once the capital of Bengal, which was in times paft watered by the Ganges, ftands now at the diftance of five miles from the bed of that river; and that fome parts of its extenfive ruins, formerly wafhed by its ftream, are at prefent fituated twelve miles * from it. The confluence of the Ganges and the Sone, which in remote periods took place at Patna, now falls at Moneah, twenty-two miles above that city. The Burrampooter has ftill more confiderably varied its courfe; and the very river, of which the Rauvee is only a branch, is faid by Strabo, on the authority of Ariftobulus, in the earlieft ages of antiquity, to have deviated many leagues from its ufual channel, by that means leaving many populous cities deftitute of the neceffary bleffings of its waters, and turning a vaft tract of cultivated country into a barren and fandy defert.

* Major Rennel.

AGRA, the AGARA of Ptolemy, though that city is by no means placed on his map in a degree of latitude correſponding with Agra on the modern map, which is marked in 27° 15′, owed its importance, and indeed its exiſtence as a capital, to the munificence of Akber. That emperor, pleaſed with its ſituation on the bank of the Jumna, and probably incited by its proximity to his new conqueſts in the Deccan, from an inconſiderable fortified town, raiſed Agra to an eminence in ſplendour, beauty, and renown, which no city in India, not even Delhi itſelf, had ever before enjoyed. This monarch had far advanced towards the completion of the proud ſtructures of Fettipore, of which the remaining ruins prove the original grandeur, when on a ſudden he relinquiſhed them, to execute his more extenſive projects at Agra. Indeed the projects of Akber were all vaſt and comprehenſive like the mind that formed them. In the important plans for which peace gave leiſure, as well as in the more dazzling ſcenes of martial glory, his genius and his abilities ſeemed to ſoar alike ſuperior to the reſt of mankind.

Akber,

Akber, having determined to make Agra an imperial residence, ordered the old wall of earth, with which the city had been inclosed by the Patan monarchs, to be destroyed, and rebuilt with hewn stone, brought from the quarries of Fettipore. This undertaking, however considerable, was finished with no great difficulty, and within no very protracted period. But to re-build Agra and its castle in a manner worthy of the designer, and calculated to render it the metropolis of the greatest empire in Asia, required the unwearied exertions of one of the greatest monarchs whom Asia had ever beheld. For the full completion of his magnificent plan, Akber, by the promise of ample rewards, collected together, from every quarter of his dominions, the most skilful architects, the most celebrated artists in every branch both of external ornament and domestic decoration; and some judgment may be formed of the prodigious labour and expense required to perfect the whole undertaking, when the reader is acquainted, that the palace alone took up twelve years in finishing, kept constantly employed, during that period, above a thousand labourers, and cost nearly three millions of rupees. The castle itself, the

largeſt ever erected in India, was built in the form of a creſcent, along the banks of the Jumna, which becomes at this place, in its progreſs to the Ganges, a very conſiderable river; its lofty walls were compoſed of ſtones of an enormous ſize, hard as marble, and of a reddiſh colour, reſembling jaſper, which at a diſtance, in the rays of the ſun, gave it a ſhining and beautiful appearance. It was four miles in extent, and it conſiſted of three courts, adorned with many ſtately porticoes, galleries, and turrets, all richly painted and gilded, and ſome even overlaid with plates of gold. The firſt court, built round with arches, that gave a perpetual ſhade, ſo deſirable amidſt the heats of a burning climate, was intended for the imperial guard; the ſecond, for the great omrahs and miniſters of ſtate, who had their ſeveral apartments for the tranſaction of the public buſineſs; and the third court, within which was contained the ſeraglio, conſiſted entirely of the ſtately apartments of the emperor himſelf, hung round with the richeſt ſilks of Perſia, and glittering with a profuſion of Indian wealth. Behind theſe were the royal gardens, laid out in the moſt exquiſite taſte, and decorated with all that could

could gratify the eye, regale the ear, or ſatiate the moſt luxurious palate; the lovelieſt ſhade, the deepeſt verdure; grottoes of the moſt refreſhing coolneſs, fruits of the moſt delicious flavour; caſcades that never ceaſed to murmur, and muſic that never failed to delight. In the front of the caſtle, towards the river, a large area was left for the exerciſe of the royal elephants, and the battles of wild beaſts, in which the Indian emperors uſed to take great delight; and, in a ſquare of vaſt extent, that ſeparated the palace from the city, a numerous army conſtantly encamped, whoſe ſhining armour and gorgeous enſigns diffuſed a glory round them, and added greatly to the ſplendour of the ſcene.

But, if this palace was thus externally grand, what a ſplendid ſcene muſt its interior parts have diſplayed? Mandeſlo, who viſited Agra in 1638, and ſaw that city in the meridian of its glory, after informing us that the palace was altogether the grandeſt object he had ever beheld, that it was ſurrounded with a wall of free-ſtone, and a broad ditch, with a draw-bridge at each of its gates, adds,* that, at the farther end of the

* See Mandeſlo's Travels, in Harris's Collection, vol. ii. p. 118.

the third ccurt, you ſaw a row of ſilver pillars under a piazza, and beyond this court was the preſence-chamber; and this more ſpacious apartment was adorned with a row of golden pillars of a ſmaller ſize, and within the baluſtrade was the royal throne of maſſy gold, almoſt incruſted over with diamonds, pearls, and other precious ſtones; that above this throne was a gallery, where the Mogul appeared every day, at a certain time, to hear and redreſs the complaints of his ſubjects; and that no perſons whoſoever, beſides the king's ſons, were admitted behind thoſe golden pillars. He mentions likewiſe an apartment in the caſtle very remarkable for its tower, which was covered with maſſy gold, and, for the treaſure which it contained, having eight large vaults filled with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, the value of which was ineſtimable. As I have ever eſteemed the accounts given us, of the internal parts of India by Bernier and Thevenot to be far more accurate and authentic than thoſe by Tavernier, who travelled thither merely in a mercantile capacity, and poſſeſſed neither the leiſure nor the opportunity, which the others enjoyed, to examine objects with attention, ſo I have in this work more generally followed

followed the relations of the former than the latter of thoſe travellers. On all ſubjects, however, that relate to commerce, and the ſplendour and riches of the Eaſtern courts, which he admired ſo much, and of which, as a merchant in gold and jewels, he knew ſo accurately to calculate the value, he undoubtedly deſerves the preference of citation. Tavernier, who viſited Agra in the decline of its glory near the end of the laſt century, in the abſence of the court at Jehaunabad, obtained permiſſion from the commanding omrah to viſit, in company with a Dutch merchant, the inſide of that ſplendid palace; and, among other proofs of its magnificence, makes particular mention of a gallery, the arch of which it was Shah Jehaun's intention to have overlaid with ſilver, and he had engaged an ingenious Frenchman to undertake the work; but, the artiſt being ſoon after poiſoned, the deſign was dropt. He deſcribes the ceiling of that gallery as adorned with branched work of gold and azure, and hung below with rich tapeſtry. But there was alſo another moſt ſumptuous gallery ſeen by Tavernier, which fronted the river; and which the ſame monarch had purpoſed to cover entirely over with a kind of lattice-

work of emeralds and rubies, that ſhould have repreſented to the life "grapes when they are green, and when they begin to grow red. But this deſign, which made ſuch a noiſe in the world, and required more riches than all the world could afford to perfect, ſtill remains unfiniſhed, there being only three ſtocks of a vine in gold, with their leaves, as the reſt ought to have been, enamelled according to their natural colours, with emeralds, rubies, and other precious ſtones, wrought into the faſhion of grapes."* This ſplendid idea of Jehaun was not without parallel amidſt the magnificence of Eaſtern courts; for, we are told by Herodotus, that Pithius, the wealthy Bythinian, made Darius a preſent of a plane-tree and a vine of gold. This vine, according to Athenæus,† was adorned with jewels hanging in cluſters, in form and colour reſembling grapes, and ſpread like a rich canopy over the golden bed of that monarch. But, without going to Perſia, we find in Curtius,‡ amidſt that luxuriant deſcription, in his eighth book, of the ſtate and

* Tavernier's Indian Travels, book i. chap. 7.

† See Heredot. lib. vii. and alſo Athenæus, lib. xii.

‡ Quintus Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 9.

and pageantry of an Indian monarch, particular mention made of the golden vines that twined round thoſe ornamented columns of the ſame metal which ſupported his palace, amidſt whoſe branches artificial birds of ſilver, in imitation of thoſe moſt eſteemed in India, were diſpoſed with the niceſt art by the curious deſigner. But to return from the *palace* to the *city* of Agra.

In a line with the palace, along the banks of the ſame river, were ranged the magnificent palaces of the princes and great rajahs, who vied with each other in adorning the new metropolis; the majeſtic edifices of which met the delighted eye, interſected with lofty trees, wide canals, and beautiful gardens. Determined to make it the wonder and envy of the Eaſt, and to bury both its former name and obſcurity in equal oblivion, the ſultan gave his own name to the riſing capital, and called it Akber-Abad, while he enriched it with the nobleſt monuments of regal munificence that human ingenuity could plan or human induſtry could execute. That nothing might be wanting to render it uſeful for every purpoſe both of religion and commerce, Akber erected in it many ſpacious caravanſeras, ſumptuous bazars, and innume-

rable

rable moſques, ſome remarkable for the elegance and others for the grandeur of their ſtructure: he likewiſe invited foreigners from all nations to come and ſettle there, built them factories, permitted them the free uſe of their ſeveral religions, and indulged them in many immunities. In particular, knowing the great conſequence of the Portugueze at that period in the commercial world, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh a connection with that enterprizing nation, ſolicited the court of Portugal that miſſioners might be ſent to inſtruct his ſubjects in the principles of Chriſtianity, and permitted the Jeſuits to erect a church and found a college in his new city, which he endowed with a penſion from the royal treaſury. By theſe liberal and politic exertions, Agra, or Akber-Abad, from being a country-town of no great note, ſoon became the moſt flouriſhing city in his dominions, and the thronged reſort of Perſian, Arabian, and Chineſe, merchants, beſides thoſe from the European ſettlements, who flocked in multitudes to its mart.

Agra, during the long reign of Akber and his ſon Jehaungeer, flouriſhed as the firſt city for magnificence and commerce in India. Shah Jehaun, by rebuilding Delhi, and by removing

removing the imperial insignia, the treasures and the jewels accumulated by his ancestors, to his new and splendid palace in that capital, gave the fatal blow to its consequence as an imperial city. Aurungzeb lived in the field of battle, and made it his business rather to extend the bounds, than to beautify and aggrandize the capitals, of his empire. Agra, deserted by its monarchs, languished under the deprivation of the royal smile, and rapidly sunk into decay; at this day, however, it exhibits more magnificent monuments of former splendour than any city of Hindostan; and, when time shall have entirely levelled those monuments with the dust, AGRA shall survive the wreck, and flourish for ever in the historic page of its immortal founder.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Divisions of Hindostan according to the Hindoos themselves, according to the Persian and Arabian Geographers, and according to the most esteemed Accounts of the Europeans.

AFTER having traced the great outlines of the ancient geography of India, according to Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny; and having taken a view of the magnificence which distinguished the successive capitals of that ancient empire, as well in remote as in more recent periods, it remains for us to pursue the tract originally marked out for the conduct of this introductory Dissertation, and to consider India, or rather Hindostan, according to the divisions of the Orientals themselves and of the best modern geographers.

The most accurate accounts of the divisions and subdivisions of this extensive territory, the history of its most early periods and governing princes, are only to be collected from

from the writings of the Indians themſelves, and of thoſe learned foreigners who have ſucceſſively reſided among them. Although the ſacred language, which is the general depoſit of their hiſtory and theology, has, till very lately, remained an inſcrutable myſtery, much credit is ſtill due to the Mohammedan literati, for their efforts in various ages to inveſtigate that obſcure ſubject. Mr. Fraſer's catalogue of Oriental manuſcripts, added to his hiſtory of Nadir Shah, affords ſome ſtriking inſtances of that laudable curioſity; and it is highly to the honour of their Perſian and Tartarian conquerors, that ſuch a general ſpirit of inquiry was encouraged among them by conſiderable rewards, and that moſt of the hiſtorical and geographical tracts alluded to were written either at the command or by the pen of their monarchs. Many convincing proofs of this aſſertion might be adduced, but in particular the TARIKH E PADSHAHAN HIND, or Hiſtory of the Sovereigns of Hind; the VAKEAT BABERI, or Commentaries of Sultan Baber; and the VAKEAT JEHANGEERY; of which the two laſt were written by thoſe emperors themſelves. But their moſt illuſtrious exertions, in this reſpect, is the AYEEN AKBERY, or Mirror

Mirror of Akber, ſo often adverted to in theſe pages, which was compiled at that monarch's expreſs command, and contains an account of the ſeveral provinces and cities of Hindoſtan, its civil and religious eſtabliſhments, and the laws and religious rites of the Brahmins. The principal perſon employed in carrying on this great and uſeful work was Abul Fazil, prime vizier of the Mogul, the moſt elegant hiſtorian of his age, whoſe writings were ſo much admired throughout the Eaſt, and ſo remarkable for energy and animation, that it was ſaid of them, that the monarchs of Aſia were more afraid of the pen of the ſecretary than of the ſword of the ſultan, formidable as that ſword was. The Ayeen Akbery is, therefore, the rich mine whence moſt of our future information muſt be derived. But, before I enter on the modern part of the Indian geography, it is neceſſary that the word HINDOSTAN itſelf ſhould be explained. Hindoſtan then is a corruption of the term Hinduſtan; the domeſtic appellation of India, compounded of Hindu, and ſtan, or iſtan, a region. Thus Perſia is called in the Oriental language Fars-iſtan; Suſiana, Chuz-iſtan; and part of Tartary, Mogul-ſtan. Mr. Dow has upon this word ſtarted a

ſingular

ſingular and, as it turns out, an unfounded aſſertion. Indoo, or Hindoo, he ſays, in Sanſcreet, ſignifies the moon, and that from this luminary and the ſun the Indian rajahs are fond of deducing their deſcent: he therefore contends, in oppoſition both to ancient and modern geographers, that the great river Indus takes its name from the people, and not the people from the river. Mr. Halhed, however, on the contrary, aſſerts that Hindoſtan is a word entirely of Perſian origin, equally unknown to the ancient and modern Sanſcreet; that the terms univerſally uſed for Hindoſtan, in the Sanſcreet language, are BHERTEKHUND, a word derived from BHERRUT, one of the firſt Indian rajahs, whoſe name was adopted for that of the kingdom, and KHUND, a continent, or wide tract of land, and JUMBOODEEP, compounded of JUMBOO, a jackal, an animal remarkably abounding in this country, and DEEP, any large portion of land ſurrounded by water; and that it is only ſince the æra of the Tartar government that they have aſſumed the name of Hindoo,* to diſtinguiſh them from their con-

* See Mr. Halhed's Preface to the Code of Gentoo Laws, p. 22, quarto; and Dow, vol. i. p. 32.

conquerors, the Muſſulmen.* The word Gentoo, he adds, is an appellation equally unknown and inapplicable to the natives, either as a tribe of Brahma, or collectively as a nation, being derived from Gent, or Gentoo, which ſignifies animal in general; and, in its more confined ſenſe, mankind. Poſſibly the Portugueze, on their firſt arrival in India, hearing the word frequently in their mouths, as applied to mankind in general, might adopt it for the domeſtic appellation of the Indians themſelves: perhaps alſo their bigotry might force from the word Gentoo a fanciful alluſion to Gentile, or Pagan. Mr. Halhed, on the ſubject of the Sanſcreet language, never ſtands in need of collateral evidence to ſupport his aſſertions; otherwiſe Sir W. Jones's additional authority † might here be cited, who ſays the natives call Hindoſtan Bharata, from "Bharat, one of two brothers, whoſe father had the dominion of the whole earth," and ſuppoſe this domain of Bahart to be in the centre of the Jumboodeep, or JAMBUDWEEPA, as he writes it; deriving the word from Jambu, a delicate kind of Indian fruit; called

* Mr. Wilkins likewiſe affirms, that the terms Hindoo and Hindoſtan are not to be found in the Sanſcreet Dictionary.

† Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. i. p. 419.

called by the Europeans rofe-apple. Hence arifes the vain appellation of MEDHYAMA, or central, by which they likewife diftinguifh their happy country.

HINDOSTAN,—formerly the empire of the Great Mogul; for, it would be infulting departed majefty to retain that mode of expreffion at this day, when it is a fact notorious to all Afia, that the city of Delhi, and a fmall territory round it, conftitute in India the whole of the prefent dominions of the houfe of Timur;—HINDOSTAN is bounded on the north by the mountains of Tartary and Tibet: on the weft it is feparated from Perfia and the Uzbek Tartary by deferts, and by thofe mountains which were known to the ancients under the name of Paropamifus; on the fouth, it is confined by the countries of Deccan, the Peninfula not being properly a part of it; and, on the eaft, it has for its limits the kingdoms of Tipra, Affam, and Arracan, fituated on the Peninfula beyond the Ganges.

It will be obferved, in drawing thefe lines of limitation, that neither the Ganges nor Indus are mentioned, as, in the ancient geography, the former as the eaftern, nor the latter as the weftern, termination of this country; for, fuch a mode of divifion would

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deprive Hindoſtan of many extenſive and valuable tracts that lie on the weſtern banks of the Indus and along the eaſtern borders of the Ganges. Ptolemy, who makes Arachoſia, Gedroſia, together with the Paropamiſadæ, and not the Indus, the weſtern boundary of India, if he had been appriſed of the courſe of the Burrampooter, would doubtleſs have fixed upon that ſtream, and not upon the Ganges, for its eaſtern limit. In our own ignorance of the geography of India, till of very late years we may find many apologies for the defective accounts of the ancient writers on that ſubject; and, inſtead of harſhly cenſuring their venial errors, we ought rather to contemplate their laborious inveſtigations in that infant ſtate of the ſcience with reverence and with admiration. Sir William Jones makes the large province of Sind to comprehend both Mocran, the ancient Gedroſia, and Multan, which, he obſerves, have been conſidered as provinces of Perſia; while, on the other hand, we know that both Cabul and Zableſtan, in the proſperous ſtate of the Indian empire, were generally conſidered as forming a part of that empire, and were often governed by the viceroys of the Mogul. In fact, the title to

poſſeſſion

possession of those frontier provinces fluctuated with the vicissitudes of both empires; a circumstance which will account for the variations of modern geographers: and, with respect to the apparent inaccuracies of the ancients, the following pertinent remark of the last-mentioned author will serve at once as a vindication and as an elucidation of their writings: "It is usual with the Asiatics to give the same name to the countries which lie on both sides of any considerable river: thus, the province of Sind is divided by the Indus, Charazm by the Oxus, Palestine by the Jordan, Egypt by the Nile, and the Eastern region of India by the Ganges." The Peninsula of India, understood in its greatest extent, is that tract of country situated to the south of a line drawn nearly from Baroach, on the western, to Balasore, on the eastern, shore, and is sometimes denominated the Deccan, although in its proper and limited sense that title can only be given to certain distinct provinces of the Peninsula. It is bounded on the north by that imaginary line, and on the three other sides it is embraced by the ocean.

In the account given above of the modern divisions of Hindostan, I have taken Mr.

Orme and Mr. Rennel for my principal guides; the former, an hiſtorian of equal elegance and authenticity, the latter, without a rival, ſince the death of D'Anville, in the path of Indian geography. Sir William Jones and the Ayeen Akbery will be our moſt certain conductors through the remainder of this treatiſe, which, if it ſhould appear extended to too great a length, I hope that the candour of the reader will be exerted in my favour, when he reflects that I am attempting to convey ideas of the geography of an empire of which ſeveral provinces are or have been ſo many potent kingdoms; an empire which the ancients conſidered as the third part of the habitable earth, and which, in fact, conſtitutes no inconſiderable portion of the vaſt continent of Aſia. To the barren ſubject of its geography, however, I have not wholly confined my obſervations, and much leſs to minute and unintereſting particulars: but have endeavoured to diſplay its moſt prominent features, and to exhibit a general proſpect of the extent and ſplendour of its ancient and celebrated capitals. For Oriental words are not eaſily accommodated to an European ear; and many readers are apt to be diſpleaſed with the frequent return of harſh

and

and uncouth names of rivers, cities, and provinces, the very ſound of which creates diſguſt. To this conſideration I ſhall ever pay a proper attention, but truſt I ſhall never ſacrifice correctneſs to a fear of diſguſting, nor perſpicuity to a vain poliſh of language.

In a future chapter, concerning the literature of the Hindoos, their ſtrange eccentric conceptions relative to the geography of the globe, as well as of their own country, will come under our more particular review. It will, therefore, be ſufficient in this place to remark, that the natives themſelves ſuppoſe Jumboodeep to be one of the ſeven DEEPS, or iſlands, ſurrounded by as many oceans, that compoſe the terreſtrial globe. Jumboodeep has nine grand diviſions, which are enumerated in the Ayeen Akbery, * and illuſtrated in a curious geographical map. In the centre of this deep, they ſay, ſtands a golden mountain of a cylindrical form, which deſcends as far beneath as it riſes above the ſurface of the earth. The ſummit of this mountain, whoſe altitude is 84,000 yojans, but, according to others, only 16,000 yojans, they denominate Sommeir; and on that ſummit, and on its ſides, they be-

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 23, and Code of Gentoo Laws, p. 45, quarto edit.

lieve are the different degrees of paradiſe. In a direct line from the lofty golden mountain of Sommeir, at the extremity of the four quarters of the earth, their romantic imaginations have placed four cities, encompaſſed with walls built of bricks of gold, viz. Jumkote, Lanka, Siddahpore, and Roomuck. Our preſent buſineſs is with that diviſion only which extends from Lanka,* in the ſouth, to the northern range of mountains paſſing between it and Sommeir, which in the language of the country are called Heemachel, Heemakote, and Nekh, and of which, in Mr. Burrow's opinion, the firſt are the RHYMMICIS mountains of Ptolemy; the ſecond the IMAUS and the EMODI mountains; and the third is the DEENIS of Ptolemy. This tract is Mr. Halhed's Bhertekhund, or, as I ſhall hereafter, according to Sir W. Jones's and Mr. Rennel's orthography, take the liberty of writing the word BHARATA.

BHARATA, the firſt diviſion of Jumboodeep, is ſaid in the Aſiatic Reſearches (page 419) to have for its northern boundary the mountains

* "Lanka is not the iſland of Ceyloan, as is generally ſuppoſed, but a place determined by the interſection of the equator and the meridian of Delhi; which anſwers to the ſouthern extremity of the Maldivy iſlands." See Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 36, in the note.

tains of Himalaya, that is, I preſume, of Heemachel before-mentioned, taken in an extended ſenſe; but in either appellative the claſſic term of IMAUS may be plainly traced. The mountains of Vindhya, called alſo Vindian by the Greeks, and the Sindhu, or Indus, according to the Indian geographers, form its limits on the weſt. The great river Saravatya, or river of Ava, waſhes Bharata on the ſouth-eaſt; and on the ſouth it is bounded by the ocean and by the great iſland of Sinhala, or *lion-like men*. Between Lanka and Heemachel the Hindoos place ſeven ranges of mountains, extending from eaſt to weſt; but the reader will readily excuſe the inſertion of their names, as well as thoſe of the ſubdiviſions of Jumboodeep, which, being unaccompanied with deſcriptive accounts, could only exhibit a tedious catalogue of names that would afford little pleaſure to his eye, little muſic to his ear, and leſs improvement to his underſtanding.

The Perſian and Arabian geographers divide the great Indian empire into two parts, which they call HIND and SIND. "By the country of Hind, in its ſtricteſt ſenſe, they mean the diſtricts on both ſides of the Ganges, and by Sind the country that lies on each ſide of the Sindab, eſpecially where it diſcharges

 itſelf

itself into the ocean. Sind, including Mocran and Multan, is bounded on the south by the Indian Sea, which embraces it in the form of a bow: it has Hind on the east, and on the west Kerman, with part of Sejestan, which also bounds it on the north; but if, with some geographers, we make it comprise even Zablestan and Cabul, its northern limits will extend as far as Cashmire, that delightful and extraordinary valley, celebrated over all Asia for the singular beauty of its inhabitants, the serenity of its air, and the abundance of its delicious fruits: if, again, we include Cashmire also in this division of India, it will reach as far northward as Tibet or Tobat, the country of the finest musk, which has China on the east, and Oriental Tartary on the west and north." * Texeira † says, the natives inhabiting the banks of the Sind are called, from its water, AB-IND; and that the Persians and Arabians denominate the tract which it washes in the lower part of its course the kingdom of Diul.

HIND, according to Sir W. Jones, is divided into three parts; GUZZURAT, including most of the southern provinces, and among them

* Short Description of Asia, p. 8.

† Texeira's Hist. of Persia, p. 90.

them the city and territory of Sumnat, the deſpoiling of whoſe auguſt and venerable pagoda, filled with treaſures equally ſacred and ineſtimable, by the deſolating tyrant Mahmud, in the eleventh century, will hereafter excite in us the ſtrongeſt emotions of indignation and horror. MALABAR, or the country of the Malais, which includes what the Arabians call Beladelfulful, or *the land of pepper*, and is terminated on the ſouth by the Cape of Comron, famous for producing the beſt aloe-wood, a favourite perfume of the Aſiatics: to the ſouth-weſt of this promontory are the numerous iſlands, which we call Maldives, and the Arabians Rabihat, and a little to the ſouth-eaſt lies the famous Serandib, or Seilán, which produces ſo many precious perfumes, jewels, and ſpices. Texeira writes the name of this great iſland of Selandive,* that is, the iſland of Seilán, obſerving that Dive in the language of the country ſignifies *an iſland*, as the Male-dive, or iſlands of Male; Ange-dive, the five iſlands; while the great commercial town of Diu is called, by way of eminence, Dive, or Div, THE ISLAND. The Sanſcreet name of Seilán, according to a curious note and remark which I obſerve added to page 36 of

* Texeira, p. 94.

of the 3d vol. of the Ayeen Akbery, is TAPOBON, a word reſembling Taprobane, and implying *the wilderneſs of prayer*. From what was before remarked, in the ancient geography concerning the Malli, and the mountainous country of Malleam, in this neighbourhood, we may, I think, without any great violence on Eaſtern language, trace to them the name of this diſtrict. BAR, as an adjunct, Mr. Richardſon obſerves,* denotes A COUNTRY, and inſtances Tranquebar and Malabar: BAR alſo ſignifies *elevated*: in either ſenſe the word is applicable. I have explained the word Malabar, but had omitted before to mention the derivation of Coromandel, which Mr. Rennel derives from Soramandelum, corruptly called Coromandel. The Soræ were a nation inhabiting that coaſt, who are mentioned by Ptolemy; and their capital of Arcoti, though ſtrangely thruſt out of its proper place in his map, is the Arcot of the moderns.

The third diviſion of Hind is called MABER, or *the paſſage*, by the Arabians, and extends from the Gulph of Bengal on both ſides of the Ganges, as far northward as the Straits of Kupele. The Straits of Kupele, through which the Ganges diſcharges the volume

* Mr. Richardſon's Diſſertation, p. 12.

lume of its waters, form a part of the chain of the Sewalic mountains that rise immediately north of the level plain of Hindostan; while far above them, considerably more northward, soar the snowy precipices of Caucasus. Caucasus, in the language of Oriental poetry, is the tremendous Kaf, or Caph, which Mr. Richardson * translates rock, or promontory, and which in the romances of the East is supposed to form a part of that fabulous mountain, which like a vast ring surrounds the earth; where the monster Simorg,† a griffin of immeasurable magnitude, has for unknown ages fixed her abode, and where the shadowy beings of Persian mythology, dives, dragons, and dæmons, of every denomination, perpetually wage their horrible conflicts.

I shall now proceed to give the substance of what we find in the Ayeen Akbery ‡ relative to

* Mr. Richardson, p. 170.

† "The man who is unacquainted with the fairies, dragons, and enchanters, so frequently introduced in the Poems of Firdusi; who knows nothing of the griffin Simorg, the speaking horse of Rostam, the dark sea which surrounds the world, the mountain of Kaf, or the battle of the twelve heroes, can no more pretend to read the finest writings of Persia, than he could understand the Odes of Pindar, if he had never heard of the Trojan war, the groves of Elysium, the voyage of the Argonauts, or the several attributes of the heathen deities." Preface to Nadir Shah, by Sir William Jones.

‡ Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 3.

to the greater and ſmaller geographical diviſions of Hindoſtan, as fixed by the emperor Akber, in the fortieth year of his reign, that is, about the year 1595 of the Chriſtian æra; a book which, Mr. Rennel obſerves,* forms to this day an authentic regiſter of theſe and all other matters relative to that empire.

Hindoſtan was then parcelled out into twelve grand diviſions, called Soobahs, to each of which a viceroy was aſſigned, by the title of Soobahdar, corruptly written Soobah by European writers; for, Soobah ſignifies province: many of theſe ſoobahs were in extent equal to large European kingdoms. The ſoobahs were again divided into circars, which Mr. Rennel would call counties; and theſe were ſubdivided into purgunnahs, which he would call hundreds. The names of the twelve ſoobahs were, Allahabad, Agra, Owdh, Ajmere, Ahmed-Abad, Bahar, Bengal, Dehly, Cabul, Lahoor, Multan, and Malwa. When Akber conquered Berar, Khandeeſs, and Ahmednagur, they were formed into three ſoobahs, increaſing the number to fifteen. It is remarked, in a note of the Memoir, that Akber might have probably changed the boundaries of the old ſoobahs, by adding or taking

* Memoir, p. 3, firſt edit.

king away certain circars, for the purpose of rendering each province more compact, and the provincial capital more centrical to the several parts of it. Guzzurat is not mentioned, as the reader must notice, in the above quotation; although Ahmed-Abad, its capital, is, which may probably be used for the province itself, although in another note to the same publication we are told, that Guzzurat is by some of the Hindoos considered as lying without the limits of Hindostan; and we are referred for a proof of this remark to the letters of Berar Rajah. Abul Fazil expresses his hope, as he shall commence his description from the soobah of Bengal, the most southern extremity of Hindostan, and carry it to Zabulistan, that, while he is writing, not only Turan and Iran, but also other countries, may be added to the account.

B E N G A L.

" Bengal (including Orissa) has the sea on the east, is bounded by mountains on the north and south, and on the west joins to the soobah of Bahar. It is situated in the second climate.* From Chittagong to Kurhee are four

* The ancient geographers divided the globe into seven climates only.

four hundred cofe difference of longitude; and from the northern range of mountains to the fouthern extremity of Sircar Maddura are comprehended two hundred cofe of latitude." We fhall be fufficiently exact, Mr. Gladwin obferves, if we take the Indian cofe, which varies in the feveral provinces, at the general average of two Englifh miles. When Oriffa was added to Bengal, the additional length was computed to be forty-three cofe, and the breadth twenty cofe.

Without following the Ayeen Akbery through all the minuter divifions of each foobah, I fhall notice what is there remarked concerning its principal city, climate, productions, force, commerce, and revenue. The hiftory of their feveral fovereigns, when feparate kingdoms, will be given hereafter.

"The air of Bengal is comparatively temperate. The periodical rains commence in April, and continue for fomewhat more than fix months during this feafon; the low-lands are fometimes entirely overflowed." We are informed in a note, that the frequent ftorms of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain, from the north-weft, which precede the fetting in of the periodical rains, contribute very much to moderate the heat; that thofe rains more generally

generally commence in the beginning of June; and that, if they break up early in September, the weather is intenſely hot, and the inhabitants are very ſickly.

"This ſoobah abounds with rivers, the fineſt of which is the Gung, or Ganges, whoſe ſource has never been traced. The Hindoo prieſts ſay that it flows from the hair of Mahadeo." The real ſource and progreſs to the ocean, both of the Ganges and Burrampooter, as diſcovered by the moderns, will hereafter merit our more particular conſideration. "The learned among the Hindoos have compoſed volumes in praiſe of the Ganges, all parts of which are ſaid to be holy; but ſome particular places are eſteemed more ſo than others. The great people have the water of this river brought to them from vaſt diſtances, it being eſteemed neceſſary in the performance of certain religious ceremonies. The water of the Ganges has been celebrated in all ages, not only for its ſanctity, but alſo on account of its ſweetneſs, lightneſs, and ſalubrity, and becauſe it does not become putrid, though kept for years. There is another very large river called Burrampooter, which runs from Khatai to Coach, and from thence through Bazoolah to the ſea. The Sea of Bengal, which is a bay of the

the ocean, goes on one side to Basorah, on the other to Kulzum of Egypt, and from thence to Persia, where by the natives it is called the Sea of Omman and the Sea of Persia."

" Most of the rivers of Bengal have their banks cultivated with rice, of which there is a variety of species. The soil is so fertile in some places, that a single grain of rice will yield a measure of two or three seer.* Some lands will produce three crops in a year. Vegetation is here so extremely quick, that, as fast as the water rises, the plants of rice grow above it, so that the ear is never immersed. Men of experience affirm, that a single stalk will grow six cubits in one night. The subjects pay their annual rents in eight months, by instalments, themselves bringing mohurs and rupees to the places appointed for the receipt of the revenues, it not being customary in this soobah for the husbandmen and the government to divide the crops. The food of the inhabitants is for the most part fish and rice. Their houses are chiefly made of bamboos, some of them very expensive and very durable. They travel chiefly by water, especially in the rainy season; and they construct boats for war, burthen, and travelling.

* The seer is a measure equal to two pounds avoirdupois.

ling. For their journeys by land they make ufe of a machine called a Sookhafens, fupported upon the fhoulders of men by a pole, formed of a number of ftraight pieces of wood, joined together by iron rings. The fides of the machines are ornamented with different metals, and over the top is thrown an arched covering, made of woollen cloth, for defence againft the fun and rain. In thefe machines you fit, or lie down and fleep, as conveniently as in a room or houfe. Some alfo ride upon elephants. Horfes are very fcarce. In fome parts of this foobah are manufactured hempen carpets, fo beautiful that they feem to be made of filk. The inhabitants of Bengal are exceedingly fond of falt, which is fcarce in fome parts of the foobah. Diamonds, emeralds, pearls, agates, and cornelians, are brought from other countries to the fea-ports of Bengal. Their flowers and fruits are fine and in plenty. The beetlenut ftains the lips of thofe who eat it quite red."

Among the principal cities of Bengal are particularly noted Jennut-Abad, a very ancient city, formerly called Lucknowti, and fometimes Gowr. It has a fine fort, to the eaftward of which is a large lake. If the

dams break during the heavy periodical rains, the city is laid under water.—Mahmoodabad, whose fort is surrounded by a marsh. When Shire Khan conquered this country, some of the rajah's elephants fled into the wilds, where they have increased in great numbers. This circar produces long pepper.—Chittagong, a large city, situated among trees, upon the banks of the sea, and a great emporium, being the resort of Christian and other merchants. There are two other emporiums a mile distant from each other, one called Satgong and the other Hougly, with its dependencies; both of which are in the possession of the Europeans. Satgong is famous for pomegranates. The soobah of Bengal now includes the five circars of ORISSA, which was once an independent country.

O R I S S A.

"ORISSA contains one hundred and twenty-nine brick forts. The periodical rains continue here eight months. They have three months of winter, and only one month that is very hot. Rice is cultivated in great abundance. The inhabitants live upon rice, fish, and vegetables. After boiling the rice,

they

they ſteep it in cold water, and eat it the ſecond day. The men are very effeminate, being exceedingly fond of ornaments, and anointing their bodies with ſandal-wood oil. The women cover only the lower parts of the body, and many make themſelves dreſſes of the leaves of trees. Contrary to the general practice of the Hindoo women, they may marry two or three times. Here are many idolatrous temples, built of ſtone, and of a vaſt height. Paper and ink are ſeldom uſed in this province; for the moſt part they write with an iron ſtyle upon the leaf of the taar-tree, and they hold the pen with the fiſt clenched. Here are manufactures of cloth. The fruits and flowers of Oriſſa are very fine and in great plenty. The nuſreen is a flower delicately formed, and of an exquiſite ſmell; the outer ſide of the leaf is white, and the inner of a yellow colour. The keurah grows here quite common; and they have great variety of the beetle-leaf. They reckon all their accounts in cowris,* which is a ſmall white ſhell, with an aperture in the middle, and they are found on the ſea-ſhore."

* Eighty cowris are called a pun, and from fifty to ſixty puns amount in value to a rupee. The great cheapneſs of proviſion makes it convenient to have ſo very low a medium for dealings among the poor.

Cuttek, or Cattack, is mentioned in the Ayeen Akbery as the capital of Orissa, containing a fort, with many magnificent buildings, which, when Akber reigned, was the residence of the governors of the province. That book describes the surrounding country as lying very low, and in the rainy season as entirely covered with water. The description of the famous palace of Cattack merits attention, as it marks the different apartments, both for state and convenience, into which the mansion of an Indian rajah of that period was divided.

" The palace of Cattack consists of nine distinct buildings. The first is for the elephants, camels, and horses. The second is for the artillery and military stores; where are also quarters for the guards and other attendants. The third is occupied by the porters and watchmen. The fourth is appropriated for the several artificers. The kitchens make the fifth range. The sixth contains the rajah's public apartments. The seventh is for the transaction of private business. The eighth is where the women reside. And the ninth consists of the rajah's sleeping apartments. To the south of this palace is a very ancient Hindoo temple."

In

In the town of Purſorem, on the banks of the ſea, the temple of Jaggernaut is particularized, concerning the origin of whoſe erection and worſhip in Hindoſtan the following circumſtances are related. At the deſire of an ancient rajah of the province, a learned Brahmin was ſent to fix upon the ſpot moſt proper for the foundation of a city. Arriving at this ſpot, and inclining to fix upon this ſituation as by far the moſt eligible of any he had yet ſeen, but ſtill not entirely determined, he obſerved a crow plunge into the water, and, after waſhing its body, pay its obeiſance to the ocean. The Brahmin, who is affirmed to have underſtood the language of birds, inquired of the crow the meaning of this ſtrange procedure: the bird anſwered, That he had formerly been of the tribe of Dewtah, but from the curſe of a religious man was transformed into that ſhape; that the ſpot whereon he ſtood was highly favoured by the Creator of the univerſe; and that whoever worſhipped him on that ſpot ſhould not fail to proſper. Animated by this intelligence, as well as by ſucceeding revelations of the divine will, the rajah built a large city and a place of worſhip on the ſpot where the crow had appeared.

Not long after, the ſame rajah was directed by a viſion to caſt his eyes, upon a certain day, on the ſea-ſhore, when there would ariſe out of the water a piece of wood fifty-two inches long, and one cubit and a half broad; that this was the true form of the Deity; that he muſt keep the invaluable treaſure ſeven days in his houſe, and afterwards ſet it up in the temple as an object of adoration. The viſion was verified by the appearance, at the appointed time, of the wooden divinity, which the rajah called Jaggernaut, and, afterwards ornamenting it with gold and precious ſtones, depoſited it in the temple, where it became the object of worſhip of all ranks of people; and is reported to have performed many miracles. The Brahmins waſh the images of Jaggernaut ſix times every day; and the quantity of victuals daily dreſſed for theſe idols is ſo very great as to feed twenty thouſand perſons. They alſo at certain times carry the image in proceſſion upon a carriage of ſixteen wheels, which, in the Hindoo language, is called Ruhth; and they believe that whoever aſſiſts in drawing it along obtains remiſſion of all his ſins.

As the pagoda of Jaggernaut is the moſt celebrated and frequented in India, I thought the

the foregoing account of its origin, from ſo authentic a regiſter of provincial antiquities as the Ayeen Akbery, would not be unwelcome to the reader. He will find, in Mr. Hamilton's * account of this coaſt, an engraving of this temple, which is an immenſe circular ſtructure, about fifty yards high, with the image of *an ox*, larger than the life, cut out of one entire ſtone, and projecting from the centre of the building. The fore part of the animal is alone viſible; the hinder parts are fixed in the wall. He has likewiſe an engraving of the coach, four ſtories in height, in which the idol is carried about in proceſſion, and under whoſe wheels he reports that the infatuated devotees often throw themſelves in a tranſport of holy fury. He deſcribes the idol as an irregular pyramidal black ſtone, and the temple itſelf as deſtitute of any light except what it receives from one hundred lamps conſtantly burning before him. Tavernier, who was at this place about thirty years before Hamilton, informs us that this idol was adorned with a mantle of gold tiſſue, had two large diamonds in the place of eyes,

 and

* See Hamilton's Account of the Eaſt Indies, vol. i. p. 385, London edit. 1744. I have been told that Mr. H.'s homely ſimilitude of Jaggernaut's temple to a vaſt butt, ſet on end, is not unſuitable.

and another pendant from his neck, with bracelets of pearls and rubies for his arms; and that the great revenues of Jaggernaut arofe from the liberal donations which were daily poured into its treafury by innumerable pilgrims of every defcription.

The foobah of Bengal is faid to confift of twenty-four circars, and feven hundred and eighty-feven mahls. The revenue is fifty-nine crore, eighty-four lacks, fifty-nine thoufand three hundred and nineteen daums; and Frafer * allows three hundred and twenty daums to a pound fterling. The forces maintained by the zemeendars amount to 23,350 cavalry, 801,158 infantry, 170 elephants, 4,260 cannon, and 4,400 boats.

B A H A R.

" Bahar is fituated in the fecond climate. The length from Gurhee to Rhotas is 120 cofe, and the breadth from Tirhoot to the northern mountains includes 110 cofe. It is bounded on the eaft by Bengal, by Allahabad and Oud on the weft, and on the north and fouth by large mountains."

" The principal rivers of this foobah are the Ganges and the Sown. The Sown, the Ner-

* Frafer's Nadir Shah, p. 33.

Nerbuddah, and the Chelum, all three ſpring from one ſource, near Kurrah. The water of the Sown is cool, pleaſant to the taſte, and wholeſome; having run to the ſouth as far as Muneyr, it then unites with the Ganges. The river Gunduck comes from the north, and empties itſelf into the Ganges near Hajeepoor. The ſummer months here are very hot; but the winter is very temperate. The rains continue ſix months. The country is continually covered with verdure, and the ſoil is ſo hard, that, during the ſtormy winds which blow here, you are not much incommoded with the duſt. Agriculture is in the higheſt perfection, the rice being ſo excellent, and of ſuch a variety of ſpecies, as are no where to be equalled. Sugar-cane is cultivated in great abundance and in high perfection. Mughee is that ſpecies of the beetle-leaf which is moſt eſteemed; it is of a very thin and delicate texture, of a fragrant ſmell, with a beautiful colour, and the flavour is delicious. It is not cuſtomary in Bahar to divide the crops. The huſbandman brings the rents himſelf, and, when he makes his firſt payment, an ancient cuſtom obliges him to come dreſſed in his beſt attire."

Moſt

Moſt of the houſes in this province are deſcribed as roofed with tiles, and the inhabitants are reported to be famous for building boats and for the manufacture of gilded glaſs: they have good elephants in plenty; but horſes and camels are ſcarce. Bahar is famous for parrots, goats, fighting cocks, "remarkable for affording great ſport," and great variety of hawks.

In ſircar Mungheer a ſtone wall is mentioned as extending from the Ganges to the mountains, and forming the boundary between Bengal and Bahar. In ſircar Bahap is Gaya, famous as a place of Hindoo worſhip, and called, from Brahma, Birm-Gaya. Tirhoot, which Sir W. Jones mentions, on the authority of ſome information received in India, as the ſuppoſed reſidence of a colony of prieſts from Egypt, is aſſerted to have been from old time the reſidence of Hindoo learning; and this aſſertion renders that circumſtance highly probable. The water and air of Tirhoot are much celebrated; and it had delightful groves of orange-trees, extending thirty coſe, not ill calculated to promote the purpoſes of ſcience and encourage meditation. The laſt remarkable place mentioned in Bahar is the ſtrong fortreſs of Rhotas,

ſituated

ſituated upon a lofty mountain of moſt difficult acceſs, and fourteen coſe in circumference. The incloſed land is cultivated; and within this ſpace are many ſprings: water may be procured in any part, by digging three or four ells below the ſurface of the earth. There are ſeveral lakes within the forts. During the rains there are not leſs than ten delightful cataracts.

The ſoobah of Bahar contains ſeven circars, ſubdivided into 199 pergunnahs. The groſs amount of its revenue is ſtated at 54,47,985,13 ſicca-rupees: it furniſhes 11,415 cavalry, 449,350 infantry.

The whole ſoobah of Bengal, the greateſt part of Bahar, and the diſtricts of Midnapore in Oriſſa, are in the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh nation, or rather of their repreſentative in that quarter, the Britiſh Eaſt-India Company. Thoſe parts of Bahar and Oriſſa which are not in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, conſtituting, in regard to Bahar, a very ſmall, but, in regard to Oriſſa, a very conſiderable, proportion of thoſe reſpective ſoobahs, are in the hands of the Mahrattas.

ALLA-

ALLAHABAD.

This ſoobah is repreſented as ſituated in the ſecond climate. In length it is 160 coſe, in breadth 122 coſe. To the eaſt it has Bahar; to the north Oud; Bundhoo lies on the ſouth, and Agra on the weſt. Its principal rivers are the Ganges and the Jown, or Jumna. It produces variety of fruits, flowers, and excellent plants; has abundance of melons and grapes, and is well ſtocked with game. Agriculture is in great perfection; and the inhabitants fabricate ſome beautiful ſpecies of cloths, and have a manufacture of woollen carpets. Allahabad, the former name of which was Piyaug, is the capital city of this ſoobah. Akber gave it the former name, and built a ſtone fort, in which are many magnificent edifices. Benares is ſpecified by the name of Baranaſſey, as a large city ſituated between two rivers, the Birnah and the Aſſey, whence probably its former appellation is derived; but its moſt ancient name was Kaſſy. It is built in the form of a bow, of which the river Ganges reſembles the bowſtring. Its temple was formerly as celebrated in Hindoſtan and as much reſorted to as Mecca is by the Mohammedans. It is the ancient

ancient ſeat of Hindoo learning as well as religion. Jown-poor is the next city in magnitude, and Chunar is deſcribed as a ſtone fort of incomparable ſtrength, ſituated upon a lofty hill, at whoſe foot flows the Ganges. Callinger is a fortreſs ſtill ſtronger and more celebrated. Within the compaſs of its walls are many ſprings and lakes, and many temples devoted to idolatry. Ebony and a variety of wild fruits are found here; in its neighbourhood there is a diamond mine; and twenty coſe from the fort ſmall diamonds are ſometimes found. Jeipal's burning himſelf, and the cauſe of it, have been already mentioned: another inſtance of a rajah's devoting himſelf to the ſame mode of deſtruction occurs in the account of Callinger, with this difference, that the former put an end to his exiſtence, becauſe his reputation was loſt, the latter from the fear of loſing it. The greateſt part of Allahabad is in poſſeſſion of the nabob vizier: the remainder is under the controul of the Engliſh. Allahabad contains ten ſircars, divided into 177 purgunnahs. Its revenue is ſtated at 53,10,695—7—9 ſicca-rupees. It furniſhes 11,375 cavalry, 2,37,870 infantry, and 323 elephants.

OUD.

Oud has Bahar on the eaſt; on the north it is bounded by mountains; by Manickpoor on the ſouth, and on the weſt by Kinoge. Its length is ſtated at 135 coſe, and its breadth at 115 coſe. The Gogra, the Gounty, and the Sy, are its largeſt rivers. The water and air are good, and the ſeaſons are temperate. Agriculture in this ſoobah is in high perfection. Some particular kinds of rice growing here are repreſented as "incomparable for whiteneſs, delicacy, odour, and digeſtiveneſs." The crops are ſown three months earlier than in any other part of Hindoſtan, and the ſtalks are ſaid to riſe as faſt as the inundating water. "Here are great variety of fruits and flowers. Of game there are many kinds, and plenty of wild buffaloes. When the plains are overflowed, the wild animals reſort to the high lands, and the hunting of them affords great diverſion. Some animals remain all day in the water, juſt keeping their noſes above the ſurface to breathe, and come on-ſhore only at night."

The incredible magnitude of the city of Oud in ancient times has been mentioned before.

before. It is esteemed one of the most sacred places of antiquity. At the distance of a cose from the city, the Gogra and Sy unite their streams, and the confluent river runs at the foot of the fort. From the northern mountains are imported a number of curious articles of commerce: among these are specified musk, cow-tails, chook (an acid mixture of lime and lemon juice boiled to a consistence), tincar, civet, zedoary, redwood, asafœtida, and amber. In return, the traders in these articles carry back earthen ware. Lucknow is a large city, pleasantly situated upon the banks of the Gounty, and the suburbs are also very delightful. In Abul Fazil's account of this soobah are recorded many instances of the absurd superstitious credulity both of the Mohammedans and the Hindoos. According to the former, it contains the hallowed tombs of Seth and Job, of which wonderful stories are related. According to the latter, it has a reservoir of water, bubbling up with such violence, that a man cannot force his way down into it; sands that sometimes assume the form of Mahadeo; and fields that, during a particular festivity, vomit forth flames. Biratch is a large city, delightfully situated amongst a number of

gardens

gardens upon the banks of the river Sy. The town of Belgram is celebrated for producing men " with lively imaginations and melodious voices;" and for a well, whofe efficacious water improves the underftanding, while it amends the fight.

The rich, extenfive, and flourifhing, foobah of Oud, and the greateft part of Allahabad, are at this day in the poffeffion of Azuph Dowlah, fon of the late Sujah Dowlah, vizier of the empire, and a tributary ally of the Britifh power in India.

Oud has five circars, divided into 138 pergunnahs. Its total amount of revenue is ftated at 50,43,454—4 ficca-rupees; its force at 7660 cavalry, 1,68,250 infantry, and 59 elephants.

A G R A.

" Agra is fituated in the fecond climate. This foobah is bounded on the eaft by Ghatempoor; on the north by the river Ganges; on the fouth lies Chundery; and Pulwuh confines it on the weft." Its greateft length is 175 cofe; its extreme breadth is from Canouge to Chundery; but the number of cofe forming that breadth is not fpecified. The principal rivers are the Jumna, rifing in the northern mountains,

mountains, and the Chumbul, deriving its ſource from Haſſelpoor in Malwa. The union of the two rivers takes place at Culpee.

"A great many ſituations in the ſouthern mountainous parts of this ſoobah are remarkably pleaſant and healthy. Agriculture is here in perfection. They have abundance of flowers and ſweet-ſcented oils, very excellent beetle-leaf, and grapes and melons, as fine as thoſe produced in Iran and Turan." What is related concerning the capital of Agra has been noticed before. The ſecond place of conſequence mentioned is Futtehpore, containing a ſtrong fort, with many magnificent buildings, a palace, a moſque, and a monaſtery, erected by Akber. Over one of its gates are placed two aſtoniſhing elephants, carved in ſtone. Futtehpore is celebrated for a quarry of red ſtone, from which the materials for erecting its own ſtupendous, but now ruined, ſtructures, as well as the ſplendid palace of Agra, were obtained. The third city is Byaneh, once the capital of this ſoobah, famous for indigo of the moſt valuable ſpecies, for white ſugar, for mangoes excellent in flavour, and of uncommon magnitude, "ſome weighing above two pounds;" and for various other rarities. The fort is

large, and contains many edifices and subterraneous caverns, where there are now found warlike weapons and kitchen utensils. It is remarkable for a very high tower. Concerning the city of Muttra, upon the banks of the Jumna, nothing is specified, but that it has many idolatrous temples, the resort of pious Hindoos. Of that hallowed city, however, which was the birth-place of Crishna, some farther account will be given hereafter. Of Kinoje too much probably has been already said. Gwalior, that celebrated fortress which for so many ages was the prison of the royal family, is the last place of importance noticed, but is not particularly described. It is, however, said to be celebrated for the goodness of its air and water, its fine singers, and beautiful women. In Agra are manufactures of blankets and fine stuffs; and in Allore those of woollen carpets and glass. In this soobah there are mines of silver, torquoise-stones, and copper: it contains thirteen circars, subdivided into two hundred and three pergunnahs. The amount of revenue is 64 cose, 62 lacks, 50,304 daums, or sicca-rupees 1,61,56,257—9; and the number of the forces it furnishes are 50,600 cavalry, 5,77,570 infantry, and 221 elephants.

The

The ſoobah and city of Agra, during the period of the decline and ſince the extinction of the Mogul empire, have witneſſed a rapid ſucceſſion of maſters. The Jauts were the firſt uſurpers, and, in 1770, were in poſſeſſion of the city and a great part of the ſoobah bordering upon the Jumna. From their conqueſts in Agra, that once powerful race were, about eighteen years ago, driven by the ſuperior forces of Nudjuff Khan. Nudjuff was in his turn expelled by the preſent poſſeſſor, Madajee Sindia, at this time one of the moſt formidable among the ſelf-created ſovereigns of Hindoſtan.

M A L W A.

Malwa, which, like the preceding ſoobahs, is ſituated in the ſecond climate, is in length 245 coſe, and in breadth 230 coſe. " It is bounded on the eaſt by Bandhnoo; on the north by Nerwer, and mountains; on the ſouth by Boklaneh, and on the weſt by Guzzurat and Ajmeer. The rivers Nerbuddah, Soopera, Calyſind, Neem, and Lowdy, flow through this ſoobah. You cannot travel two or three coſe without meeting with ſtreams of good water, whoſe banks are ſhaded by the wild willow and other trees; and decorated

with the hyacinth, and other beautiful and odoriferous flowers."

"There are abundance of lakes and verdant plains, ornamented with innumerable magnificent and elegant buildings. The climate is so temperate, that in winter there is no occasion for warm clothing; nor is it necessary in summer to cool the water with saltpetre. But in the four rainy months the night air is cold enough to render a quilt necessary. The situation of this soobah, compared with the other parts of Hindostan,* is somewhat high, and all the land is arable. Both harvests are very good. Wheat, poppies, sugar-cane, mangoes, musk-melons, and grapes, are here in high perfection. In Hasselpoor the vine bears fruit twice a year. The beetle-leaf is very fine. The natives of Malwa give their children opium to eat till they are three years old; the peasants and even the market-people are never without arms."

The principal places of importance enumerated in Malwa are Owjain, a large city, held in high veneration by the Hindoos, and situated upon the banks of the Soopera, a river which Abul Fazil, with great gravity, observes sometimes

* Mr. Rennel says, it is unequivocally the highest region in Hindostan.

ſometimes flows with milk; Gurreh, a diſtrict abounding with foreſts and wild elephants, ſo fertile that it ſupplies both Guzzurat and the Deccan with grain; Chundery, a very large and ancient city, in which is a ſtone fort; and indeed this city muſt have been one of the largeſt in India, for it is ſaid to have contained "fourteen thouſand ſtone houſes, three hundred and eighty-four markets, three hundred and ſixty caravanſeras, and twelve thouſand moſques;" and Mundoo, once the capital of the ſoobah, whoſe fortreſs it twelve coſe in circuit, and diſplays in the centre of it a minaret, eight ſtories in height. This deſerted capital is ſaid to abound in monuments of ancient magnificence, and to be honoured with the tombs of Kuljyan ſultans. In its neighbourhood a ſpecies of tamarind grows, as big as the cocoa-nut. I omit the long account of the Paris ſtone, ſaid to have been diſcovered in this ſoobah, which had the enviable property of converting whatever metal it touched into gold, as of kindred veracity with that of the rivers, whoſe current was milk.

Malwa at this time is divided among the Paiſhwah, the nominal head of the weſtern empire of Mahrattas, Madajee Sindia beforementioned, and Holker, a Mahratta chief,

whoſe capital is Indore, ſituated about thirty miles on the weſt of Ougein.

Malwa contains twelve ſircars, ſubdivided into 301 pergunnahs. Its revenue is ſtated at twenty-four crore, ſix lacks, ninety-five thouſand and fifty-two daums, or ſicca-rupees 6,17,376—4—15; its forces at 280,816 cavalry, 68,000 infantry, and 90 elephants.

KHANDEES.

This ſoobah, which was by Akber denominated Dandees, in memory of his ſon, Sultan Daniel, who died at its capital of Berhampore, is alſo ſituated in the ſecond climate. It is in length ſeventy-five coſe, and in breadth fifty coſe; being bounded on the north and weſt by Malwa, on the ſouth by Kalneh, on the eaſt by Berar, and on the north by a range of lofty mountains. "It abounds with rivers and rivulets. Of theſe the principal is the Talee, frequently called the Poomy. The air of this ſoobah is delightful; and the winter is very temperate. Jewary is the grain principally cultivated in this ſoobah; and in ſeveral places they have three crops of it in the year. Their eſculent plants are remarkably fine; the rice is excellent; and they have great plenty of

of flowers and fruits, together with beetle-leaf in abundance."

Among the principal cities, towns, and forts, enumerated, are Aſſeer, a caſtle where the governor of the province reſides, ſituated upon a lofty mountain, incomparably ſtrong, and encompaſſed with three other forts, at whoſe top is a very large city: — Berhampore, the capital of Khandees, lying upon the river Tapty, and three coſe from Aſſeer, ſurrounded with beautiful gardens, abounding with ſandal-wood, and inhabited by people of all nations, but particularly by handicraftſmen: — Adelabad, a good town, which the Hindoos hold in great veneration: — Changdavy, a village near which the rivers Tapty and Poorna unite their ſtreams, forming a confluence, held ſacred by the Hindoos, and by them called Jiggerteerut or *the liver of holy places*: — Damerny, a populous town, near which is a reſervoir of *boiling water*, worſhipped by the Hindoos: — Chowpurreh, a large town, well inhabited: — and Thalny, a fort, which, though ſituated upon a plain, is nevertheleſs a place of great ſtrength.

In this ſoobah are thirty-two pergunnahs, all in high cultivation. The huſbandmen are honourably ſpoken of as dutiful ſubjects, as very laborious, and ſome of them as remark-

 able

able for their ſkill in taming lions. Khandees, or Candeiſh, is the ſmalleſt of the ſoobahs, and is at preſent divided among the Paiſhwa, Sindia, and Holkar. The fine city of Berhampore is in poſſeſſion of Sindia. The amount of the revenue is 12,64,762 Berary tungahs; and the tungah is reckoned at twenty-four daums.

B E R A R.

The ſoobah of Berar is in length 200 coſe, and in breadth 180 coſe. It is alſo ſituated in the ſecond climate. On the eaſt it joins to Beeragurgh; on the north lies Settarah; on the ſouth Hindiah; and on the weſt Telingana. "The air is very temperate; and the ſoil is highly cultivated." The principal river is the Godavery, which is a ſacred ſtream, dedicated to Kotum, as the Ganges is to Mahadeo, and is holden in great veneration by the natives. Its ſource is in the mountains of Sihya, near Turneek, and the current paſſing through the territory of Ahmednagur enters Berar, and thence rolls into Telingana. The Talee and the Tapty are alſo ſacred ſtreams.

In this ſoobah are diamond-mines. The learned reader will recollect, that Ptolemy ſpeaks of the diamonds found on the banks of the Sambulpoor river. In ſome parts are ſalt-

falt-petre works, which yield a confiderable revenue to the ftate: they have likewife manufactures of flowered ftuffs. "In Indore and Neermul are fteel-mines. Thofe places are alfo famous for very neat ftone veffels. Their oxen are very fine. The houfe-cocks which are bred there have black blood and bones."

Eletchpore is defcribed as a large city, where the governor of the foobah refides; and Kullem as an ancient city, famous for buffaloes. Some very ftrong forts are enumerated, of which the principal is Ramgurh, faid by Abul Fazil not to be at that time conquered by Akber. Indeed, as only the weftern parts of Berar were ever conquered by that emperor, the account of this foobah is but very incomplete; nor, from their ignorance of the internal parts, has this defect been even yet fupplied by modern writers. In the mountains of Berar liberty feems to have made a bold ftand againft the incurfions of the Mogul arms. The number, which is confiderable, and the ftrength, which is truly formidable, of the ancient rajahs and zemeendars of Berar, are particularized by the fecretary of Akber. One of them, by name Chatwa, is faid to have commanded 2000 cavalry, 50,000 infantry, and 100 elephants. As in Bahar there is a facred

place

place called Gaya, dedicated to Brahma; ſo in Berar is there a Gaya, ſacred to Biſhen; and our author tells us of a third of the ſame name, near Bijapoor, being a vaſt reſervoir of water, remarkable for a very deep ſpring. At theſe three places, ſay the Brahmins, if charity be beſtowed, it obtains pardon for the deceaſed.

Berar contains 13 ſircars, ſubdivided into 42 pergunnahs, the revenues of which are collected by Nuſſuk, that is, by a valuation of the crops.

Not being a ſettled government, the total amount of the forces it could raiſe is not ſpecified, nor that of its revenue clearly ſtated. The principal part of this ſoobah belongs to a Mahratta chief, called Moodajee Boonſlah, a direct deſcendant of Sevagee, the original founder of that empire in Hindoſtan, whoſe capital is Nagpoor. The remainder of Berar is holden by the Nizam, who pays a chout, or fourth part of its clear revenue, to Moodajee.

GUZZURAT.

This ſoobah, ſituated in the ſecond climate, is in length 302 coſe, and in breadth 260 coſe. On the eaſt lies Khandees; on the north Jalore and Ider; on the ſouth are the ports of Dummun and Cambayet; and on the

weſt

west Jugget, which is situated on the sea-shore. The southern parts of Guzzurat abound with mountains. It is watered by the ocean, and by the following rivers; the Sabermutty, the Bateruck, the Mehindery, the Narbudda, the Tapty, and the Sirsooty. The air of this soobah is temperate; the soil sandy. That species of grain called jewary and bajero is said to be principally cultivated in Guzzurat; wheat, barley, and rice, are imported from the neighbouring provinces. So great an abundance of mangoes, of which some are uncommonly large and delicious, of musk-melons, figs, and most other fruits, plants, and flowers, natives of India, grow here, that the whole soobah has the appearance of a perfect garden. All sorts of Indian manufactures flourish in Guzzurat; many of the most curious and costly kinds. Boxes inlaid with ivory and pearl, gold and silver stuffs, velvets, cotton cloths, excellent swords, bows, and arrows, are fabricated here. There is a considerable traffic in precious stones, and silver is imported from Room and Irak.

The capital of this rich, flourishing, and extensive, soobah is Ahmedabad.* The situation

* The reader is desired to notice, that ABAD always means *city*, and PORE, *place:* thus, Ahmed-abad is the city of Ahmed; Fattehpore, the place of victory.

tion is deſcribed as remarkably healthy. It has two forts, and was once divided into 360 quarters, of which only 84 are in a proſperous condition. " In theſe are 1000 moſques, each having two large minarets, and many wonderful inſcriptions." Twelve coſe from this city is Mahmudabad, containing very many grand edifices, and ſurrounded with a wall ſeven coſe ſquare. The ports of Cambay and Ghogeh are dependent upon ſircar Ahmedabad. Ghogeh (Goga) is a large port, well built, and inhabited by merchants of various kinds. The cargoes of the ſhips are put into ſmall veſſels, called Tahwery, which tranſport them to Cambay. Siddahpoor and Beernagurh are noticed as places of great religious reſort, and inhabited principally by Brahmins; the latter containing 300 idolatrous temples. Chumpaneer is a fort ſituated upon a lofty mountain, the road to which for upwards of two coſe is extremely difficult, and there are gates at ſeveral parts of the defile. At one place they have excavated near ſixty ells in length, which ſpace is covered with planks, that can be removed on the approach of an enemy. Sooret (Surat) is a great emporium. The river Tapti runs paſt it, and, at the diſtance of ſeven coſe, joins the ſea. The followers of Zer-

duſht,

dusht, when they fled from Persia, settled at Surat, where they practised the doctrine inculcated by the Zend and its commentary the Pazend. From the liberality of his majesty's disposition, says Abul Fazil, every sect exercises its particular mode of worship without interruption. Baroach is also a fine fort and a grand emporium: it is washed by the Nerbuddah in its passage to the ocean. Sircar Surat was formerly an independent territory; the chief was of the Ghelote tribe, and commanded 50,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry. It is now formed into nine principal divisions, each inhabited by a different tribe.

Through the description of all those divisions it is not necessary for us to follow the Ayeen Akbery: but, in the first division, called *New Surat*, may be noticed the city and strong stone fort of Chunahgurh, situated in the heart of the Peninsula: and, in the second division, Putten Sumnaut, a large town upon the shore of the ocean, particularly challenges our attention, from its having been anciently a most celebrated place of Hindoo worship, and decorated with a pagoda the most superb and wealthy of any throughout Hindostan. The source of the Nerbuddah, which is holden in the most sacred veneration by the Hindoos, is near

near Sumnaut. Thoſe, who delight in prodigies, will find their taſte for the marvellous gratified, by reading farther the account of this ſecond diviſion of Guzzurat. The third diviſion, it is ſaid, contains the remains of a large city in ruins, whoſe name is not ſpecified, but of which the ſituation, at the foot of the mountains of Sironj, appears very deſirable. The ancient city Mr. Rennel takes to have been Nehlwarah, mentioned by Feriſhtah as the capital of this ſoobah, and by the Arabian travellers of the ninth century as the reſidence of the ſupreme Balhara, or monarch of Cambay. " The ſixth diviſion has ſuch large rivers, the mountains are ſo lofty, and the country is in general ſo woody, as to be impervious to an army. It is inhabited by the tribe of Chetore." The ninth diviſion is remarkable for being the reſidence of the Charun tribe, a race of people who ſeem to reſemble the ancient bards; for we are told that " the greateſt part of them employ themſelves in ſinging hymns of celebration and in reciting genealogies, and that in battle they repeat warlike fables to animate the troops. They are alſo famous for diſcovering ſecret things: throughout Hindoſtan there is hardly a great man who hath not ſome of this tribe

in

in his ſervice." After the enumeration of theſe diviſions, is deſcribed the wild and dreary region of Cutch, lying to the weſt of Guzzurat, and extending in length 250 coſe, and in breadth 100 coſe. The greateſt part of Cutch is compoſed of woods and uncultivated ſands; but fine horſes are bred in thoſe woods, which are ſuppoſed to be of Arabian extraction. They have alſo remarkably good camels and goats. The men are tall and well-proportioned, and wear long beards. The capital city is Tahej, which has two ſtrong forts, called Jhareh and Khundkote. The military force of this country is ſtated at 10,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry. A conſiderable tract of low fenny country, on the weſt of Ahmedabad, at certain ſeaſons inundated by the ſea, and, when dry, famous for the manufacture of great quantities of ſalt, is alſo particularly pointed out in the Ayeen Akbery: but our wonder is not a little excited, that a river of ſuch magnitude as the Puddar, which paſſes through, and contributes, by its riſing waters, to overflow that ſpot, is not ſo much as mentioned.

The ſoobah of Guzzurat contains nine ſircars, divided into 198 pergunnahs, of which 13 are ports. The amount of revenue in ſicca-rupees is 10,96,223—3—11. The

forces

forces are rated 67,375 cavalry, and 8900 infantry.

The largeſt as well as the moſt valuable portion of Guzzurat is divided between the Paiſhwa, or nominal head of the weſtern empire of the Mahrattas, and Futty Sing Gwicker, whoſe dominion extends chiefly over the northern region. The Engliſh army, under General Goddard, were once in poſſeſſion of the fineſt part of this ſoobah, having reduced the important fortreſſes of Baſſein and Ahmedabad, and penetrated the inland country to the very foot of the Gauts; but, in the peace negotiated with the Mahrattas in 1783, theſe ſplendid acquiſitions were prudently relinquiſhed, and they at this day remain inveſted only with the ſovereignty of Bombay, Salſette, and the adjoining iſles.

A J M E E R.

The greateſt length of Ajmeer is 168 coſe, and the extreme breadth includes 150 coſe. On the eaſt lies Agra; on the north, part of Delhi; it has Guzzurat on the ſouth; and Deybalpore of Multan confines it on the weſt. The ſoil of this ſoobah is repreſented as a deep ſand; and therefore the ſucceſs of the harveſt

harveſt depends entirely upon the periodical rains. Their winter is temperate; but the ſummer is intenſely hot. The revenue is in general a ſeventh or an eighth of the produce of the harveſt; little being paid in ready-money. The common people are ſaid to live in houſes with pitched roofs, built of bamboo and ſtraw. To the ſouth are mountains; and the whole of this ſoobah abounds with ſtrong holds.

Ajmeer is compoſed of Maywar, Marwar, and Hadowty. Maywar contains ten thouſand villages, and the whole of ſircar Chitore is dependent upon it. It is in length 40 coſe, and in breadth 30 coſe: and it has three very conſiderable forts: viz. Chitore, Cowmblere, and Mandel. The governor reſides at Chitore. In Chowra is an iron mine. In Jainpore and ſome places dependent upon Mandel are copper mines. The preſent poſſeſſors of theſe lands are native zemeendars, who anciently were named Rawel, but for a long time paſt are called Ranna. They are of the Ghelote tribe, and conſider themſelves to be deſcendants from Noorſhirvan, king of Perſia. This circumſtance is ſomewhat ſingular; but one ſtill more ſingular occurs in the ſame page: for, the elected rajah has the Keſhkeh drawn upon his forehead with human blood. This

custom alone seems to prove that they are not of the true line of the blood-abhorring Hindoo. Marwar is in length 100, and in breadth 60, cose. Sircars Ajmeer, Jewdehpore, Sirowheh, Nagore, and Beykaneer, are dependent upon it. The Rathore (Mahratta) tribe have inhabited this division for ages past. They have many forts, of which the following are the most famous: Ajmeer, Jewdehpore, Beykaneer, Jelmeer, Amerkote, and Jyugurh. Hadowty, called also sircar Nagore, is inhabited by the Hadeh tribe. This soobah is entirely in the possession of Sindia and the Mahrattas. It contains seven sircars, subdivided into 197 pergunnahs. The amount of the revenue is 22,84,1507 daums; out of which 23,26336 are Seyurghal. It has 86,500 cavalry and 3,47,000 Rajpoot infantry.

D E L H I.

This soobah is situated in the third climate. Its greatest length is stated at 165 cose; its extreme breadth at 140 cose. On the east lies Agra; on the north are mountains; on the south, the boundaries are Agra and Ajmeer; and Lodyaneh confines it on the west. The principal rivers are the Ganges and the Jumna:

na: among the inferior ſtreams may be numbered the Cagger. The climate is very temperate. Moſt of the lands are inundated during the periodical rains. Some places are ſaid to produce two harveſts in a year. Here grow moſt of the fruits of Perſia, Tartary, and Hindoſtan, with a great variety of flowers. Throughout this ſoobah are many grand buildings of ſtone and brick; and it is ſtored with the productions of every part of the globe. A part of the northern mountains of this ſoobah is called Kamaoon, where there are mines of gold, lead, ſilver, iron, copper, orpiment, and borax. Here are alſo found abundance of muſk-deer, ſilk-worms, falcons of various kinds, and plenty of honey.

The city of Delhi has been already deſcribed at large. Sembhel (Sambul) is the city next deſerving notice, in which is a Brahmin place of worſhip called Hurmundel, where it is ſaid the tenth Avatar will make his appearance. Whenever he comes, and under whatever form, things will be found ſtrangely altered in theſe parts ſince the period of the laſt Avatar, or the benevolent Boodh's appearance among the Hindoos. In ſircar Sembhel the rhinoceros is frequently hunted. Of his ſkin they make ſhields, and his horn is

 applied

applied to the ends of bows, where the ſtring is faſtened. Sehrind is called a famous city; it was doubtleſs the Serinda whence ſilk was brought in the time of Juſtinian; and, although Mr. Rennel obſerves that no mention is made of a ſilk-manufacture at this place in the Ayeen Akbery, yet he muſt have noticed that, a few lines above, this ſoobah is ſaid to abound in ſilk-worms. Tanaſſar is held ſacred by the Hindoos. The river Sirſutty, to which they pay profound adoration, runs near it; and in its vicinity is the venerated lake Koorkhet. This was the ſcene of the Mahabbarat, or the great war. The city of Huſtnapore was the imperial reſidence of Rajah Behrut, a prince renowned for juſtice and love of his ſubjects; of whom, and his capital of Huſtnapore, or Haſtinapore, much more will be ſaid hereafter.

This ſoobah contains eighty ſircars, ſubdivided into 232 pergunnahs. The revenue is 60,16,15,555 daums; out of which 3,30,75,739 daums are Seyurghal.

The Seiks, that riſing and powerful ſtate before-mentioned, connected together by a ſtrong federal union, are at this day in poſſeſſion of the weſtern parts of Delhi. The ſouthern region, extending quite to the city

of

of Delhi, ſucceſſively under the controul of the Jauts and Nudjuff Khan, has been of late years ſeized upon by Sindia; who permits Shah Aulum, his royal priſoner, to reign king in name, but, in reality, a menial penſioner upon his bounty, in the humbled metropolis of the vaſt empire of his anceſtors. The north and eaſtern territories, to the mountains of Sewalic, are governed by the grandſon of the late Nidjib Dowlah, the guardian of the young prince, whom Abdallah, in 1761, placed upon the imperial throne.

LAHOOR.

The length of this ſoobah meaſures 180, the breadth 86, coſe. It is ſituated in the third climate. On the eaſt lies Serhind; on the north Caſhmeer; on the ſouth Beykaneer of Ajmeer; and Multan bounds it on the weſt. Its rivers have been before enumerated. Lahoor is deſcribed as very populous, highly cultivated, and exceedingly healthy. The cultivated lands are chiefly ſupplied with water from wells. The winter is much ſeverer here than in any other part of Hindoſtan, although conſiderably milder than in Perſia and Tartary. Through his majeſty's (Akber's) en-

couragement, here are to be procured the choiceſt productions of Turan, Iran, and Hindoſtan. Muſk-melons are procurable here all the year, either from the native ſoil or from the neighbouring provinces. Ice too is brought from the northern mountains, and ſold throughout the year. Their horſes reſemble thoſe of Irak, and are very fine. In ſome parts, by ſifting and waſhing the ſands of the rivers, they obtain gold, ſilver, copper, tin, braſs, and lead. From a mountain in this ſoobah rock-ſalt is dug in great abundance. It is alſo famous for handicraftſmen.

Of Lahoor, the capital of this ſoobah, enough has been already ſaid. Nagracaut is a city ſituated upon a mountain, with a fort called Kangerah. In its neighbourhood is a moſt ancient and celebrated place of Hindoo devotion and pilgrimage, where the blind enthuſiaſt cuts out his tongue as a ſacrifice to the idol. Lahoor contains five duabehs, or interamnian regions, ſubdivided into 234 pergunnahs. The revenue amounts to 55,94,58,423 daums. Its forces are 54,480 cavalry and 426,086 infantry.

MULTAN.

This ſoobah is ſituated in the firſt, ſecond, and third, climates. Its length from Feeroozpore

roozpore to Sewistan is 403 cose; its breadth from Rhutpore to Jelmeer 108 cose. If Tattah be considered as included in it, which in fact it is by Abul Fazil, the additional length to Cutch and Mocran will measure the enormous line of 660 cose. On the east lies Serhind; the pergunnah of Shoor joins it on the north; on the south it is bounded by the soobah of Ajmeer; on the west are situated Cutch and Mocran, both of which are independent territories. Tattah is watered by the rivers before-described in Lahoor, which, passing through this soobah, unite their streams, and form the Sind. Of this river, and its mighty though remote rivals in fame, the Ganges and Brahmapooter, the reader will find a particular and ample account at the end of this Geographical Dissertation. Mountains extend along the north side of this soobah. It resembles Lahoor in many respects, and its fruits are delicious: it has, however, the benefit of but little rain, which seldom falls here; and the heat is excessive. Between Seewee and Bhakor is a large desert, over which, during three of the summer months, there blows the pernicious hot wind, called in Arabia *Semoon*. Only two cities of eminence are mentioned in this soobah: the

first is Multan, the capital, one of the most ancient cities of India, having been, according to Mr. Rennel, the metropolis of the Malli; and from them probably deriving the name of Multan, or Malli-patan; that is, the city of the Malli. It is described as having a strong brick fort and a beautiful lofty minaret. The second is Bhakor, which is said to have a good fort, and in ancient books to have been called Munsoorah.

Multain contains three sircars, subdivided into eight pergunnahs. The amount of its revenue is stated at 15,14,03619 daums; of its forces at 13,785 cavalry and 165,650 infantry. This soobah, generally speaking, may be said to be at this day in the hands of the Seiks, as they are doubtless in possession of the most fertile and cultivated regions of it.

Sircar TATTAH, once an independent territory, but now included in Multan, is of such considerable note, as to be honoured by the secretary of Akber with a longer account than that of the soobah to which it is annexed. Its length, from Bhakor to Cutch and Mocran, is 257 cose; and its breadth, from the town of Budeyan to Bunder Lawry, is 100 cose. On the east lies Guzzurat; on the north Bhakor and Seewee; on the south

the

the ſea; and on the weſt Cutch and Mocran. Tattah is ſituated in the ſecond climate; and its capital of the ſame name, according to our author, is in latitude 24° 10', but according to Mr. Rennel in 24° 50'. "The winter in this country is ſo temperate, that there is no occaſion for furs, and the heat of the ſummer, except in Sewiſtan, is very moderate. In Tattah are various fine fruits; and the mangoes are remarkably good. A ſmall kind of melon grows wild. Here are alſo a great variety of flowers; and their camels are much eſteemed. The inhabitants travel chiefly by water; they build boats of various conſtructions; and have not leſs than 40,000 in number. They hunt the wild aſs, hares, hogs, and the kotehpateheh; and they are fond of fiſhing. The huſbandman divides his crops with the government, but is allowed to keep two-thirds. Here are iron mines and ſalt pits. The food of the natives is rice and fiſh: the former is fine and in abundance; of the latter, a particular kind called Pulwa, which comes from the ſea into the Indus, is exceedingly delicious. They dry fiſh in the ſun, and make an advantageous trade of it; they alſo extract oil from fiſh, which they uſe in building boats." The

mountains

mountains of this soobah are numerous, and run in various directions, nourishing on their lofty sides the savage and warlike race of Balloches, of Balloges; some tribes of which, since the rapid decline of the Moguls, have seized upon a considerable territory on the borders of Mewhat, and established themselves in the heart of the empire. They breed horses and camels upon these mountains. One of these tribes is named NOMURDY by Abul Fazil; and as this was part of the tract called by the ancients INDO-SCYTHIA, Mr. Rennel seems inclined to think that they may be the descendants of the Scythian Nomades. This conjecture derives force from the prevalence of a custom which was peculiar to the natives of ancient Scythia, that of the graziers who inhabit the villages on the banks of the Indus occasionally changing their position, and wandering with the deviations of the stream.

In ancient times the capital was Brahminabad, which was then a very populous city. We may judge of its magnitude from that of its fort, which is said to have had 1400 bastions, a tenab distant from each other; and of this fortification there are at present considerable vestiges. Mr. Rennel, in confirmation

firmation of this, obſerves, that the ruins of a city, ſuppoſed to be Brahminabad, are ſtill viſible within four miles of Tatta: and the reader will remember that Mr. Rennel writes near 200 years after Abul Fazil. Tatta, which is the Daibul of the Perſian tables of Sir William Jones, is now the fourth ſircar of the ſoobah of Multan, and is ſaid to contain five inferior ſircars, ſubdivided into fifty-three pergunnahs. The revenue amounts to 6,615,293 daums.

CASHMERE.

Caſhmere, the laſt of the ſoobahs in Akber's diviſion of Hindoſtan, is ſituated in the third and partly in the fourth climate. It is ſaid to be compoſed of Caſhmere, properly ſo called, Pehkely, Bhember, Sewad, Bijore, Kandahar, and Zabuliſtan. This ſoobah is ſtated by Abul Fazil as extending 120 coſe in length, and from ten to twenty-five coſe in breath. Mr. Rennel, citing this paſſage, either by miſtake or as a correction, mentions the breadth as only fifteen coſe. He inclines to think the whole ſtatement exaggerated; and tells us, from Mr. Forſter's route, that Caſhmere is 80 miles in length, 40 in breadth, and of an oval form.

Of

Of this " delightful and extraordinary valley of Caſhmere," as it is called by Sir W. Jones, in a paſſage quoted before, the deſcription in the Ayeen Akbery abounds with ſuch ardent expreſſions of admiration, that we are induced really to ſuppoſe it to be, what by Eaſtern writers it is often called, the paradiſe of the Indies. It is repreſented as " a garden in perpetual ſpring, entirely ſurrounded with mountains, the fortifications with which nature has furniſhed it, of an aſtoniſhing height, ſo that its grand and romantic appearance cannot fail of delighting thoſe who are fond of variety, as well as thoſe who take pleaſure in retirement. The water is remarkably good, and the cataracts are enchantingly magnificent. Violets, roſes, narciſſuſes, and innumerable other flowers, grow wild in Caſhmere. The ſpring and autumn diſplay ſcenes that at once delight and aſtoniſh. It has plenty of excellent fruits, eſpecially melons, apples, peaches, and apricots; and the rain deſcends not in a deluge, as in other parts of Hindoſtan, but in light and genial ſhowers." Amidſt theſe advantages, however, they are not free from the dreadful calamity of frequent earthquakes; " on which account they do not build their

houſes

houſes with brick and ſtone, but of wood, with which the country abounds." In Caſhmere are various manufactures of wool, particularly of ſhawls, which are carried to all parts of the globe; and of ſilk, which occaſions the general cultivation of mulberry-trees, not ſo much for the fruit as for the leaves, on which the ſilk-worms feed. As the inhabitants are extremely happy, ſo we muſt ſuppoſe them to be remarkably induſtrious; for every town in this ſoobah has as many handicraftſmen as are to be found in the large cities of other countries. They live chiefly upon rice, fiſh (either freſh or dried), and vegetables. Of animals, they have a ſpecies of ſheep called Hundoo, whoſe fleſh is exceedingly delicious and wholeſome. They have horſes, ſmall but hardy; and cows black and ugly, but yielding plenty of good milk. They breed neither elephants nor camels; and they have neither ſnakes, ſcorpions, nor other venomous reptiles.

Sirrynagur is mentioned as the capital of Caſhmere in Akber's time, and it is ſaid for ages to have been in a flouriſhing ſtate. The name of Sirrynagur has ſince been exchanged for that of the province, and the modern capital of Caſhmere is deſcribed by Mr. Forſter, the laſt

Engliſh

Engliſh viſitor, as a large city built on each ſide of the Chelum, the ancient Hydaſpes, which rolls through the centre of the valley, whoſe whole extent, according to tradition, it anciently overſpread in the form of a vaſt lake. It is ſituated in latitude 33° 49′: its longitude is 73° 11′. The account of this ſoobah, and of the provinces included in it, is uncommonly minute; and, from an enumeration of many abſurd ſuperſtitious practices, ſomewhat tedious. A general idea of its wealth, traffic, and natural productions, has been given above; and I ſhall not attempt to follow Abul Fazil through all its various ſubdiviſions, but haſten on to the two important ſircars, as they are here called, of Candahar and Cabul. The ancients divided Caſhmere into two parts only, calling the eaſtern diviſion Meraj and the weſtern diviſion Camraj. Its revenue, in the reign of Aurungzeb, Mr. Rennel ſtates at no more than about 35,000*l.* ſterling; a circumſtance, he obſerves, that ſeems to prove Caſhmere to have been a favoured province. The forces Abul Fazil ſtates at 4892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry.

CANDAHAR.

Candahar is ſituated in the third climate. It is in length 300 coſe, and meaſures in breadth

breadth 260 cofe. Its capital of the fame name is fituated on the mountains, which the Greeks called Paropamifus, and it is fuppofed to have been built by Alexander, whofe Eaftern name of Secander is eafily traced in that name. It has been confidered, from early antiquity, as the gate of Hindoftan towards Perfia; and through it every invading army from that quarter has conftantly paffed. It is fituated in latitude 33°, and in longitude 67° 05′. The heat in fummer at Candahar is extreme, while the cold in winter is fevere. It has two forts of uncommon ftrength and magnitude. There are fruits and flowers in abundance in this foobah, and the wheat is remarkable for its whitenefs.

C A B U L.

Cabul is fituated in the third and fourth climates. Its length from Attock Benares, on the banks of the Sind, to Hindoo-Ko (the Indian CAUCASUS) is 150 cofe, and from the river to Chaghanferai, the eaftern boundary, to Charbargh is 100 cofe. It is impoffible, Abul Fazil obferves, to give in writing an adequate idea of the excellence of the air and water of this country. Although the winter is rather fevere, yet it never does any injury. The

The temperate and the frozen regions of this very mountainous soobah so nearly join, that you may pass from heat to cold in the course of a day. The country abounds with delicious fruits. The melons, however, are an exception, being but indifferent; and the harvests are not very flourishing. Hindoo-Ko lies in the centre between Cabul, Badakshan, and Balkh. The inhabitants are chiefly Afghans, who live by pasturage, and breed on its lofty mountains and on its extensive plains innumerable droves of horses, camels, sheep, and goats.

The extensive, the celebrated, the commercial, capital of Cabul, once the imperial residence of Baber, is situated in latitude 34° 36′, in longitude 68° 58′. According to Abul Fazil, it is a very ancient and beautiful city; and Pusheng is said to have been its founder. It is situated, Mr. Rennel informs us, at the foot of the Indian Caucasus; and not far from the source of the Attock river, which passes very near or under it. Its situation, he adds, is spoken of in terms of rapture by the Hindoo historians, Cabul being less romantic than pleasant; enjoying a delightful air, and having within its reach the fruits and other products both of the temperate and the torrid zone. It is the gate of Hindostan towards Tartary, as

Candahar is towards Perſia; and, if both places be properly guarded, that extenſive empire is ſafe from the irruption of foreigners. Similar to this obſervation, which is taken from the Ayeen Akbery, is a remark in the Short Deſcription of Aſia, p. 7, "that, according to the Indians, no man can be called the ruler of India who has not taken poſſeſſion of Cabul." Baber was in poſſeſſion of it; and ſoon became the Indian ſovereign. Abdallah, its late maſter, made ſome rapid advances towards the conqueſt of Upper India; and diſpoſed at his will of the crown of Delhi. In this ſoobah a pergunnah, compoſed of villages and hamlets, is called Tooman.

Tooman Bekram, commonly called Peiſhore, enjoys a delightful ſpring-ſeaſon. Its capital, called alſo Peiſhore, is a conſiderable city; and is ſituated on the great road leading from Attock to Cabul. Tooman Ghuzneen (Gazna) deſerves notice from the renown which in former times its capital enjoyed, having been the imperial city of the Gaznavide ſultans. Gazna was formerly called Zabul; whence the whole province was called Zabuliſtan; and Candahar was at that time only conſidered as a part of it. This ancient capital is placed by D'Anville in the north-weſt

extreme of the ſoobah; but Mr. Rennel, guided by Mr. Forſter's Journal, has placed it in a more probable ſituation, in the very heart of the province. In the Deſcription of Aſia, cited above, it is ſaid to be "an unpleaſant city; and that the inhabitants are forced to ſend to Meimend for their fruit and herbage." The Ayeen Akbery corroborates this account, by affirming, "that the huſbandman undergoes great labour, from being obliged to bring freſh mould from Cabul every year; the natural ſoil of the country being too poor for cultivation." The whole of Cabul conſiſts of twenty Toomans. Its revenue is ſtated by Abul Fazil at 6 crore, 73 lacks, and 6983 daums. The number of its forces is not aſcertained in the Ayeen Akbery, but Manuchi reckons them at 60,000 cavalry and 12,000 infantry. This whole northern tract of country, including generally Cabul, Candahar, Gazna, Peiſhore, Gaur, Seiſtan, and Chorasſan, and extending in length not leſs than 650 Bengal miles from eaſt to weſt, owns for its potent ſovereign Timur Shah Abdallah. He is the ſon of that Ahmed Abdallah, who, upon the death of Nadir, ſeized upon theſe parts of his vaſt empire, and erected them into an independent

dent kingdom, differing little in limits and extent from the ancient empire of Gazna.

Such were the particulars which ſeemed moſt deſerving of notice, and moſt illuſtrative of the following pages, in the Ayeen Akbery. Reſerving the conſideration of the geography of the PENINSULA for that period of the enſuing hiſtory when it was firſt penetrated by the arms of the Mohammedans, I ſhall conclude this Diſſertation on the Geography of the country, which is properly called HINDOSTAN, with an account of thoſe three mighty rivers which at once bound and adorn it.

I ſhall begin with the INDUS, becauſe we have been juſt deſcribing the countries through which it paſſes.

In the account of the river INDUS, given by Pliny,* that author obſerves, "Indus ab incolis Sandus appellatur;" *the river Indus is by the natives called Sandus.* How very much is it to be lamented that he and his brethren of claſſical celebrity have not more frequently given us the native appellation of Indian cities, mountains, and rivers! How much unavailing ſolicitude would they have ſaved the geographer and the hiſtorian! Mr. Wilkins, in

* Plinii Nat. Hiſt. lib. vi. cap. 20. Aldi edit. This edition reads Sandus; all the others Sindus.

in a note to his tranflation of the Heetopades,* informs us, that the proper name of the river, which we call the Indus, as written in Sanfcreet characters, is SEENDHOO, which by the vulgar is pronounced SEEND. The Ayeen Akbery† expreffes doubt concerning the exact fite of its fource; for that book obferves, that, according to fome, it rifes between Cafhmere and Cafhgur, while others place its fource in Khatai, or Tartary. Major Rennel has found no opportunity to decide the queftion; but thinks it may poffibly fpring from the weft fide of that ridge of Imaus, which, in the opinion of the ancients, feparated the two Scythias, in about the 38th degree of north latitude. The firft part of its courfe feems to lie through that region of Cafhgur,‡ which is known to be a defert of deep and black fand, particles of which being wafhed away by the rapidity of the ftream, and mingling with its waters, give them a black, or rather a blue, colour; whence, probably, in its early courfe, it is called NILAB, or the BLUE river. Sir W. Jones, fpeaking of the probable connection that anciently exifted between India and Egypt, feems inclined to derive even the name of the river

* Heetopades, p. 333. † Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 132.

‡ See the account of Cafhgur, in Abulgazi Khan's Hiftory of the Tartars, vol. ii. p. 476.

river Nile from the Sanſcreet root NILA, BLUE; and is confirmed in that idea by the great geographer Dionyſius expreſsly calling the waters of that river an azure ſtream.*

Entering Hindoſtan, nearly in latitude 34′, it paſſes through Kenore and Puckely, and receives in its courſe the tribute of ten principal ſtreams, which deſcend from the Perſian and Tartarian mountains on the north-eaſt and north-weſt. From the city of Attock, downwards to Multan, it is called the river of ATTOCK. Below Multan, which is about the ſame diſtance from the ſea as Allahabad, that is, about 800 miles by the courſe of the river, the Seendhoo, ſwollen with all the rivers of the Panjab, flows majeſtically down to Tatta, under the aſſumed name of SOOR, or SHOOR. Near Tatta it divides itſelf into a number of channels; and the principal branch rolls rapidly on to the ocean, under the new appellation of MEHRAN.

The breadth of the Indus at Bazaar, a town ſituated about twenty miles to the north-eaſt of Attock, according to Mr. Forſter, is three-quarters of a mile. He obſerved the ſtream to be very rapid and turbulent, although not agitated by any wind; and the water itſelf he

 found

* Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. i. p. 271.

found to be extremely cold. Captain Hamilton, whofe account of this river is the moft accurate and extenfive of any writer before his time, reprefents its breadth at Tatta to be one mile, and the fame breadth is affigned it by Mr. Rennel at the town of Ritchel, on the coaft, where its largeft branch enters the ocean. The former of thefe gentlemen ftates the depth of the Indus at fix fathom, and its velocity at four miles per hour in the dry feafon; he adds, that the inundations prevail in April, May, and June; that they leave a fat flime on the ground, which they till eafily before it dries, and which, when fown and harrowed, never fails to produce a good crop; that the internal commerce carried on by means of the Indus is immenfe, and that the river itfelf is navigable, for veffels of near 200 tons, as high up as to Cafhmere. It is in every refpect, however, far inferior to the Ganges.

The Delta of the Indus extends in length about 150 miles along the fea-coaft; and its greateft depth from the moft prominent part of the bafe to its apex is 115 miles. The lower region of this Delta is throughout interfected by numerous creeks and rivers: it for the moft part confifts of noifome fwamps or muddy lakes, and is totally deftitute of trees.

The

The upper parts of the Delta, however, are well cultivated, and yield abundance of rice. After the rains, the Indus becomes exceedingly impetuous and turbid; and, in the mouths of the river, which is called the BORE, or ſwell of the current, occaſioned by the ſudden influx of the tide, is dreadfully high and dangerous.

Two objects, ſtill more noble and magnificent, now preſent themſelves for conſideration; the GANGES and the BRAHMAPOOTER: of theſe two great rivers, of which the ſource of the former and the very name of the latter were unknown to antiquity, modern travellers have at once explored the origin and traced the progreſs.

The GANGES, in the language of Hindoſtan, is called PUDDA, or PADDA, a word in Sanſcreet ſignifying *foot*; becauſe, as ſome Brahmins affirm, it flows from the foot of the god Veeſhnu. According to the opinion of others, however, as is aſſerted in the Ayeen Akbery, it flows from the hair of Mahadeo. But whether the GANGES be allowed to flow from the hair of one deity or from the foot of another, the allegory ſimply imports, that the grateful Hindoo acknowledges to receive the bleſſing of its waters from the immediate bounty of the great Creator. It is alſo denominated BURRA GONGA, *the great river*;

and GONGA, *the river*; whence are derived its native appellation of GONG and its European name of the GANGES.

The real ſources of the Ganges, I have obſerved, were unexplored by the ancients. The river itſelf was totally unknown to the great hiſtorian of antiquity, Herodotus, from whoſe declaration * it is evident, that, "the ſandy deſerts beyond the Indus" were the utmoſt limit of his knowledge of India. In the time of Strabo, who flouriſhed in the reign of Tiberius, near five centuries after, the Ganges had been ſailed up as high as Palibothra or Patna; and, in the geography of that writer,† it is ſaid to run ſouthward from the mountains of Emodus. In reality, the ſprings of this celebrated river are aſcertained by modern diſcoveries to lie in the vaſt mountains of TIBET, about the thirty-third degree of north latitude. From the weſtern ſide of KENTAISSE, one of thoſe mountains, it takes its courſe in two branches for three hundred miles weſtward, but inclining to the north: at that diſtance from their fountain, meeting the great chain or ridge of mount Himmaleh, the ancient Imaus, the two ſtreams are compelled to take a ſouthern direction, and

* Herodoti, lib.iii. p. 2. Edit. Stephani, 1592.

† Strabonis Geograph. lib.xv. p. 683. Baſileæ, 1549.

and in this courſe, uniting their currents, form what is properly called the GANGES. Amidſt the rugged valleys and ſteep defiles of that remote and mountainous region, the Ganges continues to wind, until it pours the collected body of its waters through a rocky cavity of the mountain into a vaſt baſon, ſcooped out by their violent precipitation at its foot. To this rocky cavity, the blind ſuperſtition of the natives has attached the idea of ſome reſemblance to the head of the animal, which, like the Apis formerly in Egypt, is holden ſacred throughout Hindoſtan; and the cavern, through which the Ganges ruſhes at GANGOTRI, is called *the mouth of the cow.* From every inquiry of the few Europeans who have viſited this remote ſpot, no real reſemblance can be traced; but the ſame ſuperſtition, which originally fabricated, perſeveres in believing and propagating, the error. Both Sheriffedin, and Mr. Orme after him, place the cow-head rock at the Straits of Cupele, and affirm that Timur attacked the Indians, who were there aſſembled in great multitudes to purify themſelves in the ſacred ſtream, and adore the fancied ſimilitude of their favourite quadruped. After its paſſage through the rock of Gangotri, the Ganges

Ganges takes an eafterly direction for near three hundred miles, amidft the rugged valleys and fteep defiles of Sirinagur; and at Hurdwar again forces itfelf a paffage through the chain of mountains called Sewalick; inferior indeed to Imaus in grandeur and altitude, but ftill of a moft fublime elevation and moft majeftic appearance. From the mountains of Sewalick, that form the immediate boundary of the provinces lying north of Delhi, the Ganges defcends, with little lefs impetuofity than from GANGOTRI, into the level and cultivated region of Hindoftan; then flowing on through delightful plains, and diffufing riches and verdure in its progrefs, at Allahabad receives a rich tribute to its ftream in the waters of the Jumna. If we may believe the Brahmins, another facred river, called the Serafwatty, joins thefe rivers under-ground; and therefore this fpot, confecrated by the three-fold junction of their waves, has ever been the refort of devout pilgrims from every province of Hindoftan, and is denominated, in the Ayeen Akbery, *the king of worfhipped places.* In its courfe from Allahabad to the ocean, a courfe of eight hundred and twenty miles, the Ganges, rolling on through the centre of Bahar and Bengal,

Bengal, among innumerable cities that proudly lift their heads on its banks, is ſwollen with the influx of many other conſiderable rivers; ſome of which, Mr. Rennel informs us, are equal to the Rhine, and none ſmaller than the Thames. About two hundred and twenty miles from the ſea, that is, about thirty miles below Rajahmal, commences the head of the Delta of the Ganges, which there, dividing into two great branches, ſeeks the ocean by two different and remote channels.

The weſtern branch, or to ſpeak more accurately, the two weſternmoſt branches, called the Coſſimbazar and Jellinghy rivers, united into one ſtream, deſcend by the city of Hoogly, whoſe name in paſſing they aſſume; and, waſhing the walls of Chandernagore and of Calcutta, ruſh in a broad and deep ſtream into the Gulph of Bengal, at the diſtance of 180 miles from the grand Eaſtern Ocean. This is the only navigable branch of the Ganges for large ſhips; the other numerous channels of this river being choaked up by bars of ſand and banks of mud, thrown up by the violence of the current and the ſtrong ſoutherly winds. The eaſtern branch, or rather the main ſtream of the Ganges, flows on towards Dacca, once the

the capital of Bengal, which is watered by a noble arm of that river; and, about ſixty miles below that city, mingling its waters with thoſe of the Megna, rolls in one united and majeſtic ſtream into the ocean.

The breadth of the Ganges varies in different places, and according to the different ſeaſons, from one mile and a quarter to three miles. At 500 miles from the ſea, Mr. Rennel informs us that the channel is thirty feet deep, when the river is at its loweſt; and that it continues at leaſt that depth to the ocean. The velocity of the current likewiſe varies according to the wet or dry ſeaſons. In the dry months the medium rate of motion is leſs than three miles an hour; but, at the period of the inundations, that motion is often increaſed to five and ſix hours; and Mr. Rennel records an inſtance of his own boat being carried at the aſtoniſhing rate of 56 miles in eight hours.

An object equally novel and grand now claims our attention; ſo *novel* as not to have been known to Europeans in the real extent of its magnificence before the year 1765, and ſo awfully *grand*, that the aſtoniſhed geographer, Major Rennel, thinking the language of proſe inadequate to convey his conceptions, has

has had recourſe to the more expreſſive and energetic language of poetry; but

——— Scarce the Muſe herſelf
Dare ſtretch her wing o'er this enormous maſs
Of ruſhing waters; to whoſe dread expanſe,
Continuous depth, and wond'rous length of courſe,
Our floods are rills.

This ſtupendous object is the BRAHMAPOOTER, a word which in Sanſcreet ſignifies *the ſon of Brahma*; for no meaner origin could be aſſigned to ſo wonderful a progeny. This ſupreme monarch of Indian rivers derives its ſource from the oppoſite ſide of the ſame mountains from which the Ganges ſprings; and, taking a bold ſweep towards the eaſt, in a line directly oppoſite to the courſe of that river, waſhes the vaſt country of Tibet, where, by way of diſtinction, it is denominated SANPOO, or *the river*. Winding with a rapid current through Tibet, and, for many a league, amidſt dreary deſerts and regions, remote from the habitations of men, it waters the borders of the territory of Laſſa, the reſidence of the grand Lama; and then deviating, with a cometary irregularity, from an eaſt to a ſouth-eaſt courſe, the MIGHTY WANDERER approaches within 200 miles of the weſtern frontiers of the vaſt empire of China.

China. From this point its more direct path to the ocean lay through the Gulph of Siam; but, with a desultory course peculiar to itself, it suddenly turns to the west through Assam, and enters Bengal on the north-east quarter. Circling round the western point of the Garrow mountains, the Brahmapooter now takes a southern direction; and, for 60 miles before it meets the Ganges, its sister in point of origin, but not its rival in point of magnitude, glides majestically along in a stream which is regularly from four to five miles wide, and, but for its freshness, Mr. Rennel says, might pass for an arm of the sea. About forty miles from the ocean these mighty rivers unite their streams: but that gentleman is of opinion that their junction was formerly higher up, and that the accumulation of two such vast bodies of water scooped out the amazing bed of the Megna Lake.* Their present conflux is below Luckipoor, and by that confluence a body of fresh running water is produced, hardly equalled, and not exceeded, either in the old or the new hemisphere. So stupendous is that body of water, it has formed

* Megna and Brahmapooter are names belonging to the same river in different parts of its course. The Megna falls into the Brahmapooter, and, though a much smaller river, communicates its name to the other during the rest of its course.

formed a gulph of ſuch extent as to contain iſlands that rival our Iſle of Wight in ſize and fertility; and with ſuch reſiſtleſs violence does it ruſh into the ocean, that in the rainy ſeaſon the ſea itſelf, or at leaſt its ſurface, is perfectly freſh for many leagues out.

The Delta, formed by the Ganges, exhibits an appearance widely different from that formed by the Indus; and is conſiderably more than twice the area of that of the Nile. It is at the baſe near two hundred miles broad, and has, Mr. Rennel informs us, no leſs than eight conſiderable openings into the ſea, each of which we pronounce without heſitation to have probably been, in its turn, the principal mouth of the Ganges. This whole extent is one vaſt foreſt; from that circumſtance denominated the woods, or SUNDERBUNDS, whoſe dangerous receſſes the fortitude and induſtry of man have never yet completely explored, and which, from their forming an impenetrable barrier on that ſide, as well as from their affording an inexhauſtible ſupply of timber for boat-building, the policy of the Engliſh has not yet attempted to clear. Theſe woods are the gloomy haunts of every ſpecies of ſavage animals, but particularly of thoſe formidable race of tigers called

called the Royal or Bengal tiger, ſo celebrated throughout the world. The fierceneſs and intrepidity of theſe animals are ſo great, that they have been known to ſwim, in queſt of prey, to the boats that lie at anchor in the river, and often make havoc among the wood-cutters and ſalt-makers, who carry on " their dreadful trade" upon the ſhore. Beſides thoſe principal openings above-mentioned, the whole coaſt of the Delta, bordering on the ſea, is indented with innumerable rivers and creeks, while the internal parts of the Sunderbunds are interſected in every direction with a thouſand ſtreams, which form a complete inland navigation, and which, according to a deſcription given me by the late worthy Colonel CHARLES IRONSIDE, who had frequently ſailed through theſe woody ſolitudes, abound with ſcenes ſo romantic and beautiful, that they alternately excite in the mind the moſt rapturous admiration, and impreſs it with moſt awful aſtoniſhment.

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

PRINTED BY H. L. GALABIN, INGRAM-COURT, LONDON.


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